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# JOURNAL

OF THE

# ASIATIC SOCIETY.

No. IV. 1862.

*Report on a Route from the mouth of the Pakchan to Krau and thence across the Isthmus of Krau to the Gulf of Siam.—By Captain ALEXANDER FRASER, Bengal Engineers, and Captain J. G. FORLONG, Ex. Engineer T. and M. Provinces.*

*From Captain A. FRASER, Bengal Engineers.*

*To Lieutenant-Colonel A. FYTCHE, Commissioner M. & T. Provinces, Tavoy, 26th April, 1861.*

Sir,—I have the honor to forward to you the enclosed Report, with plans, &c. as per margin, of a journey made by Captain Forlong and myself up the Pakchan river, and across the Isthmus of Krau to the gulf of Siam.

1. Sketch map and Survey of route from mouth of Pakchan *via* Krau to Tayong on the gulf of Siam, in two sheets.

2. Survey of the river Pakchan from its mouth, in the Mergui Archipelago to above Krau.

3. General Sketch map of steam routes in Bay of Bengal and China sea.

4. Tables I. to IV. of Comparative cost of do.

No one can be better aware than yourself of the good which would accrue to the Provinces of Pegu and Tenasserim, by the free importation of Chinese labour, by the route recommended, and we therefore submit this Report to you. As, further,

the matter involves other, and far more important than local interests, we recommend that the Report be forwarded to the Government of India, as one worthy of immediate and attentive consideration, with such remarks as your complete knowledge of the general and local bearings of the subject may deem expedient.

We would beg to bring to your notice the great civility and kindness with which we were received by the chief civil authority, Tacompa, in the Siamese territory.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) A. FRASER, *Captain, Bengal Engineers.*

1. The Steamer "Nemesis," with Lt.-Col. A. Fytche, Commissioner T. & M. Provinces on board, anchored about 15 miles up the river Pakchan in five or six fathoms of water. Banks, steep and densely wooded, with a stream running between them of (here) about a mile in breadth.

2. Opening into the Mergui archipelago, opposite the south end of St. Mathew's Island, there are some six fathoms of water at low water over the Bar at the mouth, though vessels coming from the north, inside the Island, have to run some little way southerly to avoid an extensive spit of sand, which runs partly across the entrance to the river.

3. On the north side, the right or British Bank, of the stream, are the tin mines of Malewoon, which are, we believe, workable to any extent to which money and labour are procurable. On the other side are the tin mines of Rahnong worked by the *Siamese* Government.

4. Collecting, on the evening of the 31st March, all the instruments necessary for a rough survey, a Perambulator, Compass, and Aneroid, we left the steamer in a native boat with a flood tide, and proceeded up this river which forms the boundary between the British possessions in these Provinces, and the *Siamese* territories. A fog came on, and we were obliged to anchor for some time. We arrived, however, at Krau by 4 p. m. of the 1st April.

5. Krau is a Shan village of some fifty houses with a few Chinese inhabitants. The civil authority was absent attending his superior at *Tsoompeon* the chief place of the district, and where a Woondouk, a functionary equal in authority to our Dy. Commissioner, resided.

6. At Krau we rested the night in a good zayat, which had been prepared for the aforesaid chief civil authority, who visits periodically his district on this, the Western side of his Majesty of Bankok's Southern dominions. We had some difficulty in procuring means of locomotion in consequence of there being no one to give



orders upon our wishes, but just as we were starting the next morning, (2nd April) with some four or five coolies we had managed to procure, an elephant made its appearance, and we were enabled to proceed a little more comfortably than we had anticipated.

7. We commenced on the 2nd April a route survey across a country which we believe is quite unknown to, and has never been traversed by Europeans. There is a good level cleared road for the first two miles, and to the third mile it rises and passes along the right bank of the Krau river. The forest on each side contained bamboos and trees, as mentioned in the plan. Up to a little short of the 8th mile, the road follows the course of the Krau river, and is difficult,—we had to wade for a mile through the stream, which was not, however, more than ankle deep, but falling every now and then over rocks, with banks about twenty or thirty feet high, and forty feet apart; at this time, the rain commenced and fell with little intermission till we returned to Krau.

8. At the 8th mile, we arrived at the water-shed of the country, a small grassy plain. The Krau river runs hence west to join the Pakehan at Krau; and a quarter of a mile further on, a river called the Bankren, joining the *Tsoompeon* at Tasan ( $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles) flows to the gulf of Siam on the east.

9. At Tasan is another zayat similar to that at Krau, with a few houses and dry cultivation. We continued to cross and re-cross the *Tsoompeon* river to the 10th mile. At  $15\frac{1}{2}$  miles, after crossing tributaries of small breadth, but with steep banks, we got again to the *Tsoompeon*, where it was some 200 feet wide, but of little depth. The jungle remained of the same character, and the nature of the country, as the path descended to the plains passing through low but steep hills, was very similar to that in the ascent from Krau to Tasan.

10. At  $17\frac{1}{2}$  miles we got to *Apay*, another zayat, and were glad to rest for the night, for, in addition to the walking over very rough ground and for miles through the rivers, wet throughout, the rain had brought out the leeches, which attacked us most unmercifully. The first indication of their attacks was finding our trowsers covered with blood; our last resource was to tie the trowsers round the ankles so as to prevent them getting inside, but even then, unless some one was looking after us while engaged in taking angles or reading the

Perambulator, if we stood still for any time we found them lodge in our necks. The amount of blood these creatures take from one, before becoming aware of it, is really exhausting, and it is therefore desirable to warn others.

11. The night was fine, the rain was reserved till day light for our special benefit: crossed a tolerably sized (80 feet) river just beyond Apay, and another at the 20th mile, a tributary of the *Tsoompeon*. We came to the end of the Hills at the 22nd mile, and entered upon a fine open country, with patches of jungle and garden and paddy lands, capable of any amount of cultivation.

At the 22nd mile, the Hills stretched away to the southward, and seemed to run east, parallel with our course, about a mile and a half to the northward, and, as we fancied, along the left bank of the *Tsoompeon* river.

At the 23rd and 25th miles, crossed another river of 120 feet in breadth, the margin of which was much cultivated, and we continued along (about half a mile from) the left bank of this river, which seems to be the *Pah-Klong* joining the *Tsoompeon* near its mouth, to the 29th mile, after which, at a distance of thirty miles from Krau, we re-crossed the *Tsoompeon* where it is about 200 feet broad, and arrived at the residence of the chief civil authority of this district, who received us most kindly at about noon of the 3rd April.

12. *Tsoompeon* is a large place of some four or five hundred houses, with a water communication of twenty miles with the gulf of Siam. We thought of continuing our journey down the stream the same day, but the heavy rain that fell was even more persuasive than the kind and polite old Governor who, as soon as we had made up our minds to remain till next morning, placed every thing that weary travellers could require at our disposal, and ordered boats to be in readiness for us at 2 A. M. (4th April) when the ebb made. There is a rise and fall of tide here of about 6 feet.

13. Started at 2 A. M. of the 4th April, and proceeded down a very winding stream to the mouth of the river opening in to the gulf of Siam, where we arrived at 5½ A. M. or in about 3½ hours having the tide with us. Here we landed and found a fine villa, in some disrepair; this was said to be the King's residence when he came to this part of his dominions. His steamers were said

to come in two days from Bangkok, and fuel (billets of wood) in quantities (about 20,000 pieces) was collected. There was a schooner of about 150 tons lying off the shore at about 50 yards distance in 5 fathoms of water, but there is a bar, above where the schooner lay, across the mouth of the river *Tsoompeon*, with only  $1\frac{1}{2}$  fathoms over it at low water. There would be no difficulty in making wharves for large ships, and, so far as we could observe, there would be no difficulty in making roads from *Tsoompeon* to this place. We found store-houses here with a couple of 32 Pr. Carronades belonging, we supposed, to the King's steamers, though we asked no questions about them. From the general appearance of the buildings, &c., we think it is a place not open to severe storms or heavy sea. This is confirmed by an extract from Commander Richards' "Gulf of Siam," taken from the Bangkok Calendar, stating that "Heavy gales are unknown in the gulf." With a view of establishing a communication across the Isthmus of Krau, it would be necessary, accurately to determine several points which would render such communication practicable with reference to the gulf of Siam, as we had ascertained in regard to our own side; this the time and commissariat at our disposal prevented us doing satisfactorily and we did not wish to exhibit a curiosity by asking too many questions which might have proved offensive to a friendly power. We made the distance from *Tsoompeon* to the sea shore 21 miles, making the total distance from Krau to the shore of the gulf about 50 miles.

14. At  $7\frac{1}{2}$  P. M. 4th April we returned to *Tsoompeon*, surveying the river roughly; we passed *Tayoung* about 4 miles from the mouth a short distance up a creek which here falls into the *Tsoompeon*, we were told that two vessels of some 200 tons were loading there. *Tayoung* is large, said to consist of some 200 houses, we had not time to land, as we wished to get back to *Apay* this night.

15. We arrived at *Tsoompeon* at  $10\frac{1}{2}$  A. M. and after much civility, which we hereby acknowledge, from *Payar Teet* the Governor, who provided us with two more elephants, we started on our return through heavy rain. Slept at *Apay* this night (4th April). Got to Krau the next day, 5th at 4 P. M., passing through the streams which had swollen a little from the heavy rain, the commencement of the monsoon. Went straight on board our boat, tested the cor-

rectness of the survey of the Pakchan (hereto annexed) said to have been executed by an Officer of the "Ganges" Steamer, which some fifteen years ago, was employed in conveying Captain Durand on an expedition up this river to settle a boundary question. Anchored for the night; arrived next day at noon on board the "Nemesis."

15½. On the route from Krau to Tsoompeon we were struck with a remarkable change of geological features. We had observed, as we emerged on the plains of *Tsoompeon*, very marked looking abrupt hills, which, being accustomed to such in the limestone Islands of the Mergui Archipelago, we concluded were of the same group, but on closer examination they turned out to be sedimentary rocks of either the secondary or primary series, Captain Forlong inclines to think the latter, and to be closely allied to the old red sandstone group, the dip was N. E. by N. We were unable to collect specimens worthy of being forwarded. All the Islands of the gulf, that we could see, seemed of the same formation, worn into smooth rounded tops, but with perpendicular sides, some of the layers were as fine as thread, although generally half an inch thick,\* all abounded in pebbles, and what Captain Forlong believes to be minute fossils. The rocks across the pass were mostly a quartzose sandstone.

16. It seemed, from our survey of the route, so manifest that a communication might be established with little comparative expense across this narrow neck of land, thus connecting the Bay of Bengal with the China sea by a route which would avoid the long, dangerous, and circuitous passage by the Straits of Malacca, that we thought it worth while to enter into a few calculations by which might be shown in figures the comparative advantages of the two routes. The following is the result, one which, to our minds, makes a further examination of the Isthmus of Krau worthy of immediate consideration by our Government in communication with that of Siam, as likely to prove of advantage to each, and of enormous value to commerce and the travelling world in general. It would relieve the commercial world to a great extent of the enormous steam charges which keep up the prices of the goods which form the staples of trade between Europe, India and China, and which render travelling almost prohibited, and it would open up a new and interesting country to the geologist and the botanist,

[\* *Sic ex conject.* The copy received has ½ "thick. Eds.]



and introduce a hardy and hard-working population (the Chinese) into provinces which contain mineral wealth in known and unknown quantities; wealth, which merely requires labour to develop to any extent, and in search of which the Chinese even now find their weary way, but who would then come in large numbers, especially as the new treaty allows them to emigrate with their families. Much and valuable information regarding the great mineral wealth of these provinces may be found in some interesting papers by Colonel Tremenhare, Bengal Engineers, and Professors Helfer and Oldham.

17. The Tables annexed I. II. & III. show the economy of fuel, establishment, and time, which would be arrived at by establishing easy communication across the Isthmus. A canal we consider out of the question. *A railroad is not only quite practicable, but likely to cost less per mile than any other in India.*

1st. Table I. exhibits the costs of the present line of steamers per month, without taking into consideration the expenses of idle vessels, or any incidental expenses whatever, merely the cost of fuel and establishment per trip, for running steamers, as kept up by the P. and O. Company from Ceylon viâ Singapore to Hong-kong, .....	Rs.	39,700	0	0
Table II. the cost of ditto, (kept up we believe by Messrs. Appear & Co.) direct from Calcutta to Hong-kong viâ Singapore, .....		40,200	0	0
Table III. the ditto, of ditto, kept up by C. & B. S. N. Company from Calcutta to Maulmein viâ Akyab and Rangoon,.....		11,900	0	0
Total Cost of present arrangement per month, .....		91,800	0	0
2nd. Table I. shows again the cost of a line running from Ceylon to Krau and from Gulf of Siam (Tayoung) to Hong-kong, .....	Rs.	32,900	0	0
Table II. the cost of a line from Calcutta viâ Akyab, Rangoon, Maulmein, Tavoy, Mergui and Siam and thence per China-line to Hong-kong, .....		17,300	0	0
Total cost of two lines which would answer all the purposes of the present three lines, .....		50,200	0	0

3rd. The saving therefore which would be derived by commerce and the travelling world, by establishing a communication across the Isthmus of Krau (provided it be quick and efficient,) by the mere calculation of saving of fuel and establishment of running steamers, will be represented by the sum of Rs.  $(91,800 - 50,200) = 41,600$  per mensem, or Rupees 499,200 per annum which sum at 5 per cent. would give a capital of 100 lakhs, or one million sterling.

4th. The Tables do not show, however, the vast further saving which would accrue, by running *two* lines of steamers instead of *three* in the Bay of Bengal, and *one* line instead of *two* on the China side of the Siamese and Malay Peninsula; the reduction of the number of steamers, the saving thereby of steamers lying idle while not running, the concentration of coal depôts, and many other incidental expenses which of course increase according to the number of lines running.

5th. The Tables again do not show what a vastly more profitable undertaking it would be to run one *through line* from Calcutta viâ Akyab, and Rangoon to the Pakehan, and thence to China, instead of one with a terminus inland at Maulmein getting no traffic as compared with that which would open up to the *through line*, and another line direct from Calcutta to China, only touching at the Straits' Settlements.

6th. The 12 millions trade (if positive, but which is probably only a transit trade) of Singapore, Malacca and Penang, and the  $14\frac{1}{2}$  millions of Netherlands-India, could easily command a steamer of its own, to run alternately on either side of the Malayan Peninsula, communicating with Krau on the one side for the Bay of Bengal, and Tayoung on the gulf of Siam, on the other, for China and Europe, as shown by dotted green lines on the general sketch map. It may occur to some, that the cost of this steamer should be deducted from the saving calculated in the 3rd clause. We think not, but there is much more than sufficient for it; and we may place this cost against that of the other private steamers, between Calcutta and Hong-kong viâ Singapore, not included in our calculations.

7th. From Point de Galle to the five-fathom anchorage in the Pakehan river, and from Tayoung, in the gulf of Siam to Hong-kong, Table I. shows to be 281 hours' steam (more or less does not matter

for calculation, as the same rate of steaming is taken for all) while the route *viâ* Singapore is shown to be 337 hours' steam. We calculate, as hereafter shown, that the passage across the Isthmus of Krau would not ordinarily occupy more than twelve hours, with a liberal allowance of time.

We have therefore a difference of time in favour of the Krau route [337 + 12 | 281 + 12] 56 hours. This is of much importance when we hold in view the costly nature of the produce and goods conveyed. It has also long been a desideratum to have a weekly communication with England, but the immense cost of putting on four steamers per month from Calcutta to Aden has hitherto, we suppose, deterred the P. & O. Company as they would thereby obtain no extra trade.

But supposing the communication through Krau established, the extra trade that would be brought by the extension of the line of P. & O. Co.'s vessels to Krau, would pay for an extra steamer between Point de Galle and Aden, by means of which by making it meet the Bombay mail at Aden by bi-monthly steamers from Ceylon *viâ* Krau, the communication between England and Calcutta would be weekly; twice per month by the P. & O. Co.'s line *viâ* Point de Galle and Madras, and twice by the vessels *viâ* Krau to Calcutta, thus providing for the whole of the Eastern Coast of the Bay of Bengal *viâ* Krau, as the P. & O. Co. does for its western Coast *viâ* Madras. The time from Ceylon to Calcutta *viâ* Krau (by the direct steamer as hereafter mentioned) would be as follows.

Ceylon to Krau, ... ..	126 hours.
Krau to Calcutta, ... ..	102 „
<hr/>	
Or 9½ days, ... ..	228
<hr/>	

Nearly as quick as the route *viâ* Madras.

8th. By Table II. including 3 hours' stoppage at Akyab, 12 at Rangoon, 12 at Maulmein, 3 at Tavoy (Mamoogan) without going up the river, and 3 at Mergui, (the trade of the two latter places being about 5 lakhs), the number of hours between Calcutta and Krau by those places is shown to be (143 + 33) 176, while the further progress to China from Tayoung would be about 153 hours, or with 12 hours across the Isthmus of Krau, a total distance

of  $(143 + 33 + 12 + 153)$  341 hours. The direct line of China steamers touching at Singapore would probably delay, ordinarily 6 hours at Penang and 12 at Singapore,—this added to the steam distance gives 360 hours, making a difference in point of time in favour of the Krau route, viâ Akyab, of 19 hours, while the latter picks up all the trade. The valuable goods (opium especially) and the mail from England might be sent by a single steamer running twice a month to and from Calcutta to Krau. The cost of this steamer is shown in Table IV. and the capital for construction of railroad would be reduced to £700,000, much more than sufficient, however. This arrangement of running a steamer direct to Krau from Calcutta would beat the direct line to China viâ Singapore, by 93 hours as follows:—

From Calcutta to Krau,	...	...	...	102 hours.
From Krau to Tayoung,	...	...	...	12 "
„ Tayoung to Hong-kong,	...	...	...	153
				<hr/>
				Total—267
				<hr/>
From Calcutta to Singapore,	...	...	...	179 "
Stoppages,	...	...	...	18 "
Hong-kong,	...	...	...	163 "
				<hr/>
Difference, 93 hours,	...	...	Total—360	„
				<hr/>

and would give a regular weekly communication with Calcutta as shown in last para. while the line running viâ Akyab gives to the eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal all the advantages of early communication with home, which its western coast enjoys viâ Madras. But the steamers viâ Akyab, should not have to go up the Rangoon and Maulmein rivers, by which means other 12 hours would be saved, making a total saving, even after touching at all the four posts (for Mergui would probably be moved to the Pakehan) of  $(19 + 3 + 12)$  34 hours over the Singapore line. Elephant Point and Amherst Point should be the respective posts of call, for Rangoon and Maulmein, with telegraphic communication between those places and the capitals of Pegu, and the Martaban and Tenasserim provinces.



9th. All the trade between Maulmein and the Straits, for which there is no better mode of carriage than junks and kattoos, and all the tin found on both sides of the Pakehan, in the Lenya river, and indeed all along the coast up to Yeh, and which only requires capital and labour to develop to any extent, would be picked up at Krau, while the labour for the tin mines of the Pakehan, and possibly for the coal mines of Mergui, could be imported direct from China. All the  $1\frac{1}{2}$  millions of the Bankok trade and that of the Malayan Peninsula, on the eastern and western side, would be intercepted at Tayoung and Krau, also all adjuncts, which none of the present lines of steamers obtain, but which would go far to make them pay. Between Maulmein and Krau, where the coast is profusely wooded, wood-fuel might be used to increase profits, or decrease expenses, should it take any time to develop the trade carried on between Maulmein and Singapore. The cost of burning wood on this coast, as compared with that of coal, is as 1 to 10, taking the wood as 10 Rs. per 1000 billets, and coal at 25 Rs. 4 ans. per ton, and assuming that 250 billets 4 feet long, by 4 inches diameter, equal one hour's steam, or one ton of coal.

18. It would answer no useful purpose, to go into all the figures necessary to establish even an approximate idea of the greater profit that would be assured to commerce and to Steam Companies, by adopting the new lines herein proposed instead of the present lines. It was only necessary to take three items, fuel, establishment, and *time of actual running steamers*, to prove our position, and if we can show, that by the saving of the two first of these items, we can establish communication across the Isthmus of Krau, which shall also beat all present lines in point of the third, and most valuable item, *time*, we think it unnecessary to examine into the contingent saving which, to any one who will give intelligent consideration to them, will manifestly appear enormous.

19. In the 3rd clause of the 17th para. we have shown the saving in fuel and establishment, of *running steamers*, to be 5 lakhs per annum, representing a *capital of one million sterling*. Can the communication by Krau be established within this sum? If so, all the contingent savings and gain in time, go to the profit of trade, as well as any difference between the cost of the said communication, and the keeping of it up. Our consideration of the subject of the

communication across the Isthmus of Krau has brought us to the following conclusions.

1st. That there should be two or three tug steamers with long flat-bottomed boats to carry goods and passengers from the five-fathom anchorage of the large steamers, 26 miles up the river Pakchan, as shown in the sketch map of the Isthmus, by the dotted green line, in which distance the river is nowhere less than one fathom at dead low water spring tides. There is a rise and fall of 8 feet. Time three hours' towing.

2nd. At this point (see plan) opposite Namoy river, a railway terminus and hotel, whence a railway will proceed, (leaving Krau to the north) by Tasan, to Tsoompeon on the shore of the gulf of Siam, distance fifty miles. Time three hours.

3rd. Allow other six hours for discharging in the Pakchan, and loading at Tayoung on the Siam side, (where there should be another railway terminus and hotel) total time twelve hours, which is more than that required by the P. & O. Co. at Suez, on whose arrangements we will suggest further improvements.

4th. There need be only one station in the centre of the line where the rail should be double on either side, for the distance of about one mile, to allow of trains passing, the remainder of the line may be single as the Suez line.

5th. The boats of eight or ten tons for the river service, should form the bodies of the earriages for the railroad service, patent slips being formed at the Krau terminus and if necessary also on the gulf of Siam shore, up which the loaded boats may be dragged on their own wheels, which could form the slip cradles, and the boats could be tacked on to the engine and proceed to the other side without any delay. The arrangement of the boats for goods and passengers is a matter of detail easily managed. There is no reason why a carriage should not be in the form of a boat, especially when time is saved in loading and expense in rolling stock. These boats would be at the anchorage, ready for the steamers as they come in from the mouth, when loaded, would be towed up to the railway terminus, dragged up the slips, and taken off at once per rail to Tayoung, where there should be a wharf for the China steamers, to lie along side, if there be water enough, if not, the carriage should be launched at once on to the sea, and sent to the steamers.

6th. We would here observe again, that our survey was rough, that we merely passed along the native line (which is well defined, but in many places in the beds of rivers) with perambulator, compass and aneroid, that our aneroid showed no height above the sea of more than seventy-five feet, and that our route presented no obstacle of engineering difficulty, beyond dips to nullahs, ordinarily twenty or thirty feet wide, with some three or four rivers from one to two hundred feet wide. A careful survey would be necessary.

7th. We would, however, recommend very little masonry, though lime and fuel for bricks are in abundance, but the vast and inexhaustible forests, through which the line passes, are full of timber suitable for sleepers, for bridges, for stations and wharfs and for fuel for the locomotives, all that would be required from England would be plant, permanent-way, and rolling stock, the labour for the work being procurable from China to any amount.

8th. We will double, what in our own, somewhat experienced minds, would be the cost of such a railroad across the Isthmus, and put down the amount at £5000 per mile, including stations, wharfs, hotels, coal-sheds, &c., &c. and rolling stock for fifty miles of rail £250,000. For the river service three tug steamers with all the advantages of disconnecting engines, towing with a single hawser &c. which the Thames tugs possess, at £15,000 each equal to, .....£ 45,000

12 Coal Barges @ £800, ..... 9,600

Rolling Stock 50 miles, ..... 250,000

Contingencies at 50 per cent. including Buoying

River, ..... 27,300

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Total £331,900

or say 1-3rd of a million sterling. But there is the interest on a *capital of one million of money, saved every year in fuel, and establishment of running steamers alone*; surely it must be worth while the expending such a capital, in establishing this communication.

20. We therefore think, that without reference to the dangerous navigation, the Straits line should be abandoned as a communication between India and Europe, and China; as the old Cape of Good Hope line was abandoned for the Suez line. Considering, however, the

difficulties of the Straits navigation, and peculiarity of the China Sea, the steamers would probably do all the work, and beat sailing vessels off the field, which they cannot do now, because the present charges upon steamers are so heavy; this will be modified by adopting the Krau route.

21. The extra service required to give a weekly mail to Calcutta, by a single extra steamer running twice a month between Aden and Point de Galle, might be well undertaken by the P. and O. Company, as well as the whole service (by a lower class of steamers however on the China side than is at present employed) between Ceylon and Krau, and gulf of Siam and Hong-kong. The Companies running the direct lines of steamer, between Calcutta and Hong-kong viâ Singapore, and the line between Calcutta viâ Akyab, &c., and Maulmein, might advantageously to themselves and to the public amalgamate, and run one steamer twice a month direct to Krau, to meet the China and Europe steamers returning direct to Calcutta; two from Calcutta viâ Akyab, Rangoon, and Maulmein to Krau, returning viâ those posts. The railway should be a separate Company, and there should be a condition in their contract which would scarcely require a guarantee to that effect.

22. With these arrangements carried out, we may incidentally mention, that the telegraph, instead of being submarine from Rangoon should be carried along the coast from Maulmein, with a junction with the railway telegraph at Krau, and also a *junction* with the Rangoon and Tongoo telegraph at Sittang, thus giving another line of telegraph communication with Calcutta, by which English news, and China news, may be transmitted from Krau.

23. The arrangement which might be made with the Government of Siam, for the grant of land &c. has not formed a subject for our discussion, as with the present liberal-minded, and far-seeing monarch on the throne of Bangkok, to whom the advantages which must result to himself and his people, by carrying out this project, will be at once obvious, we see no difficulty on this point.

24. We have thus laboured to prove, and we think have done so satisfactorily that *as a mere speculation*, the construction of a railway across the Isthmus of Krau, will be profitable; that the communication may be established for a third of the capital, the interest of which is now being expended yearly *on mere fuel and*



*establishment of running steamers*, and that a vast amount of time will be saved over present routes. Of the political bearing of the subject, we have said nothing, but holding in view that the line from Ceylon to Cochin China, is nearly straight, we are convinced that if Great Britain does not take it in hand, France must, with every chance of a profitable opposition to the P. and O. Company in their line with Europe to Calcutta via Madras.

ALEX. FRASER,

*Captain, Bengal Engineers.*

J. G. FORLONG,

*Captain F. R. S. E.*

*Ex. Engineer, Tenasserim Provinces.*

*Table of Great Sea Routes from Ceylon to China and Calcutta and vice versa. See Report on the communication by the Isthmus of Krau by Captains Fraser and Forlong.*  
*Dated Tavoy, the 26th April, 1861.*

Tables.	Routes two Steamers starting per month on all Lines.	Distance in Miles.								No. of Hours.	No. of Tons coal Burnt.	Cost of Fuel.	Cost of establishment.	Total cost of steam-er per Trip.	Cost of trips per month.	Saving.	
		Singapore.	Akyab.	Rangoon.	Maulmein.	Tavoy.	Mergui.	Krau.	Hong-kong.							Total.	Rupees.
I.	{ Ceylon via Singapore to Hong-kong, ..... Ceylon via Krau to Hong-kong, ..... Calcutta via Singapore to China, ..... }	1570	..	..	..	..	..	..	1470 3040	337	337 8425	1500	9925	39,700	..	6800	56
		..	..	..	..	..	..	1150	1380 2530	281	281 7025	1200	8225	32,900	..	..	..
		1610	..	..	..	..	..	..	1470 3080	342	342 8550	1500	10,050	40,200	..	..	..
II.	{ Calcutta via Akyab, Rangoon and Krau, ..... Calcutta via Akyab and Rangoon to Maulmein, ..... }	..	280	480	120	150	110	150	..	1290	143 3575	750	4325	17,300	22,900	19*	..
		..	280	480	120	..	..	..	..	880	98 2450	525	2975	11,900	11,900	..	..
		Total saving per Month, Rupees,.....															A
IV.	{ Calcutta to Krau direct, } one Steamer twice per month,	..	..	..	..	..	..	920	..	920	102 2550	450	3000	12,000	5,00,000	Five Laacs	..
		..	..	..	..	..	..	920	..	920	102 2550	450	3000	12,000	29,600	39 hours	..
		..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3,50,000	3 1/2 Laacs	..
Saving per annum after deduction of Cost of } above line from saving A. See 8th clause para. 19.																	
See 3rd Clause para. 17, of Report.																	
Do. Annua " "																	

\* By leaving out Mergui, and establishing communication between Rangoon and Elephant Point, and Amherst and Maulmein, the saving of 19 hours may be increased to 34 hours, see 8th clause 17th Para. of Report.

(Signed) ALEX. FRASER,  
 (Signed) J. G. FORLONG.

TO ACCOMPANY REPORT BY CAPTAINS FRASER & FORLONG, DATED 26<sup>th</sup> APRIL 1861. TAVOY



*Forlong Captain,*  
*7 R. E. P.*

**GENERAL MAP** of the Bay of Bengal, showing the proposed shipping routes. The map illustrates the Bay of Bengal, the Indian subcontinent, the Malay Peninsula, and the coast of China. Key locations include Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Point de Calcut, Tavoy, Rangoon, Moulmein, Prome, Yangon, Singapore, and Hong Kong. Distances are marked along the routes: 280 miles from Calcutta to Tavoy, 250 miles from Madras to Tavoy, 250 miles from Tavoy to Rangoon, 250 miles from Rangoon to Moulmein, 250 miles from Moulmein to Prome, 250 miles from Prome to Yangon, and 250 miles from Yangon to Singapore. The map also shows the Andaman Islands and the coast of China.

The map shows the proposed shipping routes between the Indian subcontinent, the Bay of Bengal, the Malay Peninsula, and the coast of China. The routes are marked with lines and distances in miles. The routes are as follows:

- From Calcutta to Tavoy: 280 miles.
- From Madras to Tavoy: 250 miles.
- From Tavoy to Rangoon: 250 miles.
- From Rangoon to Moulmein: 250 miles.
- From Moulmein to Prome: 250 miles.
- From Prome to Yangon: 250 miles.
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- From Yangon to Singapore: 250 miles.





*A Further Note on Wild Asses, and alleged Wild Horses.*

—By E. BLYTH.

1. *The Wild Ass of the African Zahára.*

At the time that my paper ‘On the Different Animals known as Wild Asses,’ (Vol. XXVIII. 229,) was submitted to the public, I had seen no detailed description of an undoubted African wild Ass, though (for reasons assigned) I claimed it as the veritable *ASINUS ONAGER*, as distinguished from sundry kindred specific races that had been a good deal confounded. This animal has, of late, been received both in the Paris *Jardin des Plantes*, and in the London Zoological Gardens; though, still, no particular notice of it would appear to have been yet published, shewing its distinctive characters, upon comparison, with the *HEMIPPUS*, *HEMIONUS*, &c.; nor have we been made acquainted with those that are alleged to justify the discrimination of the *Kyang* from the *Ghor-khur*. In a very interesting work\* that I have lately seen, however, I find a description of the wild Ass of the African Zahára, which, I think, worthy of citing, and thus bringing more prominently to notice; and, especially, as it indicates the existence of at least a second African species, as the *Hamar* or *Ahmar* of Sudan; which latter is, doubtless, that which Dr. Barth considered to be identical in species with Mr. R. Schlagintweit’s Indian *Ghor-khur*. I may further notice, that, in Kraff’s Travels, &c., in E. Africa (p. 277), “wild Asses” are mentioned as being “plentiful in Kayo” (about 5° N. lat.)

Mr. Tristram writes, that, while his companion “set off with his sketch-book, I returned to see a very fine Ass which had been brought, for inspection, and was valued at thirty dollars. Having heard that wild Asses were to be occasionally found in the Soufa desert, on the route to Ghadames, I had made every enquiry after one; fully believing that I should see the Koomrah (*Equus hippagrus*, Jardine,)<sup>†</sup> mentioned by Dr. Shaw, and known to inhabit some of the sparsely wooded hills of the Fezzan country.

“My surprise, therefore, was great on seeing a veritable ‘Onager’ or wild Ass, of what exact species I cannot state. He certainly approached, very near, the *ASINUS ONAGER* of Asia [meaning the *Ghor-khur*, or *E. asinus onager* of Pallas and the younger Gmelin<sup>‡</sup>],

\* *The Great Sahára: Wanderings South of the Atlas mountains.* By H. B. Tristram, M. A., F. Z. S., &c. (1860), p. 318.

<sup>†</sup> *Potius* C. Hamilton Smith, in Jardine’s *Nat. Libr.*—E. B.

<sup>‡</sup> *Asinus indicus*, Selater.

and possessed all the marks which distinguished this species from the *Hamar* or *Ahmar* of Sudan[!]. He stood about two hands higher than a common Ass [the race found in England is doubtless meant\*] was very strong-limbed, of a rich slatish ash-colour, with the stripe running from the mane to the tail, and the cross-stripe on the shoulder; his coat very sleek and short [the summer vesture]. His nose and limbs were white; and the lower part of the neck, and between the shoulders, whitish; the mane and tail blackish; with ears broad; and I think, perhaps, longer than in the common Ass: square-built and powerful; with a keen, lively eye; and teeth ready to seize the first opportunity for a snap at any by-stander. He trotted with great speed, and cantered easily. He had been caught when very young, and was considered unusually tame for one of his species; but still he was capricious and unmanageable, and required a tremendous bit to hold him.

“These Asses form valuable beasts of burthen, from their power of sustaining a three-days’ march without water; but the adults are very difficult to entrap and impossible to train. The natives say that they are not gregarious [?], but consort regularly with the Ostrich, and have a keen sight and still keener scent. I have since regretted that I did not make some effort to bring this animal to England; because, I feel persuaded, that it differs, as a variety, if not as a species, from any hitherto seen in our Zoological Gardens.”

Of a rich *slatish ash-colour*, with the humeral as well as the dorsal stripe well developed! Surely the true aboriginal Donkey, as I contended before; and, from a brief description which I have received from the present talented Secretary of the Zoological Society, P. L. Selater, Esq., I should say identical in race with another African (Nubian?) specimen, received some time ago in that Society’s menagerie: only the latter has limb-stripes, also, which is not stated of Mr. Tristram’s animal; though this is of no importance whatever, except that the African Onager’s limb-stripes would seem to be those commonly seen in domestic Asses; whereas the limb-markings of the *Ghor-khur* (when it shews them), are altogether different, consisting of narrow and close wavy and sometimes reticulating cross-lines, chiefly at the joints, and of a light fawn-colour; those of the true

\* The late Don Carlos had an Ass in his stud-house at Aranjuez, in 1832, that exceeded fifteen hands in height. *Vide* the Hon’ble Richard Ford’s *Gatherings in Spain* (1846), p. 72.

Donkey being broader, much wider apart, and black. None of the kindred races is stated, ever, to be of a slaty hue; though it now appears that both *Ghor-khur* and *Kyang* are subject to variation of colour; and, in India, the puny domestic Asses of the country exhibit precisely the same range of colouring as the Camel. A *pieb* Ass is what I have never heard of. Here, the reported 'wild Ass' of the N. E. Shan States, noticed in p. 169 *antea*, may again be referred to.\*

## 2. *The alleged Wild Horses of Mongolia.*

In the late Mr. T. Witlam Atkinson's 'Travels in the Regions of the Upper and Lower Amoor,' &c. (2nd edit., 1861), the Appendix consists of a series of highly interesting lists of the mammalia, birds, and ordinary plants, respectively of the valley of the Amoor (divided into Upper, Middle, and Lower), of the Kirghiz steppe, Kara-taw, Ala-taw, and Tarbagatai, and of the trans-Baikal and Siberia.† *EQUUS HEMIONUS* is mentioned, as an inhabitant only of the upper Amoor territory; and *EQUUS CABALLUS sylvestris*, only in the grand last-mentioned region: but the description (in p. 325) most assuredly denotes a *feral* as distinguished from an aboriginally wild race of Horse, or rather of *Pony*, analogous to that of true wild Ass in Africa. With the wild *ASINI* (of different specific races), some variation of shade of colour undoubtedly does occur, as before remarked; but is exceptional. No aboriginally wild mammal is known that varies ordinarily so much in hue, as would seem to be implied by Mr. Atkinson's description of the alleged wild Horses of Mongolia.

"This animal is not like the wild [or rather feral] Horse of South America, which undoubtedly sprung from those taken into the country by the Spaniards. He is of a distinct race from the Asiatic Horse [which, of among so very many Asiatic races? At all events, he, too, is Asiatic;] very small (not so large as an Ass), beautiful in form, having a small head and short ears, and varying in colour from black, bay, grey, and white, the latter being the most rare. He is called 'Muss' by the Kirghis. His sense of smell is very acute, which renders him most difficult to approach, and few Horses can run him down." The author incidentally mentions that these animals are found, in great herds (about May), near the foot of the mountains beyond the river

\* I have recently observed several domestic Asses, of a very dark colour, but having no trace of the cross.

† From Dr. Leopold von Schrenk. *Vide Natural History Review*, Jan. 1861, p. 13.

Ili; and describes the mode of hunting them, which is to chase a herd into a narrow mountain-pass, secured on the other side, so that the poor animals run into a trap, and are there cruelly butchered with battle-axes; for "the Khirghiz consider their flesh the greatest delicacy the steppe affords."

I am disposed to consider that the herds, referred to, have about as much claim to be considered as aboriginally wild, as have the New Forest Ponies in England,—neither less nor more,—or, as the feral cattle of Chillingham Park, with their likewise very suspicious colouring; the latter, too, being artificially maintained by weeding out all calves that deviate in hue. I do not think that the *EQUUS CABALLUS* has, anywhere, so good a claim to be regarded as aboriginally wild, at the present day, as have the One-humped Camels noticed by Rüppell, as abounding in the long stretch of desert between the valley of the Nile and the Red Sea; but, it is to be regretted that M. Rüppell does not mention the colouring of these animals, whether, or not, subject to much variation. A large proportion of the domestic Camels of vast tracts of the African continent are white; and a prevalence of white individuals would be highly suspicious, in the herds which M. Rüppell considers as feral; but which may yet be truly as aboriginally wild as are the African wild Asses, which, also, by the way, were considered as feral by the late Prince of Canino. It must be a rare circumstance, indeed, for a Camel, left to perish by the Arabs and others, to recover; though, still, Camels may have strayed from domesticity. Should the wild herds not vary much in colour, I see no reason why they might not be regarded as probably aboriginal.\*

\* When I noticed what I termed the decimation of the wild herds of Elephants in Borneo (in p. 197 *antea*), it should have been remarked, that, if the *tusk*ers only were killed, it would no more affect the multiplication of the race, than does the withdrawal by emasculation of so many males of our common domestic animals. *Pro tanto*, therefore, the decimation argument goes for nothing.

The Mogul Emperor Báber mentions, incidentally, the occurrence of the Rhinoceros, the wild Buffalo, and the Lion, in the neighbourhood of Benâres; and wild Elephants in the vicinity of Chunâr! When nearly approaching Benâres, he states—"At the station, a man said that in an island close on the edge of the camp, he had seen a Lion and a Rhinoceros. Next morning we drew a rug round the ground; we also brought Elephants to be in readiness, but no Lion nor Rhinoceros was roused. On the edge of the circle one wild Buffalo was started \*\*\*. In the jungle around Chunâr, there are many Elephants." (p. 407). Elsewhere, he asserts that the Elephant "inhabits the district of Kalpi; and the higher you advance from thence towards the East, the more do the wild Elephants increase in number. That is the tract where the Elephant is chiefly taken. There may be thirty or forty villages in Karrah and Manikpûr that are occupied solely in this employment of taking Elephants." Upon which, the translator justly remarks, in a note penned about half a century ago, that—"The improvement of Hindustân,







Feet

SPHARGIS CORIACEA

DRAWN ON STONE & LITH BY H. M. SMITH. S. G. O. CALCUTTA, NOV. 1902.

*Order Chelonia.*—By S. R. TICKELL, Esq.*Maulmein, March 8th, 1862.**To the Secretary of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.*

DEAR SIR,—I have the pleasure to send to the museum of the Society a specimen, as well prepared as circumstances permitted, of a rare and little described species of Turtle, of which I beg to annex the following description, which may perhaps be considered worthy of publication in the Journal of the Society.

Your's obediently,

S. R. TICKELL.

Family. Thalassidæ.

Genus. Sphargis (Merrem).

Synonyms. Corinda (Fleming).

Dermatochelys (Blainville).

Species. Coriacea? (Auctorum).

"The Trunk Turtle" (apud Bell).

The specimen herewith forwarded to the Society is a female. She was captured, February 1st, 1862, near the mouth of the Yé river (in the Tenasserim Provinces), on the sandy beach of which she had

since Báber's time, must be prodigious. The wild Elephant is now confined to the forests under Hemâla, and to the Ghâts of Malabar. A wild Elephant near Karrah (Currah), Manikpûr, or Kalpi, is a thing, at the present day, totally unknown. May not their familiar existence, in these countries, down to Báber's days, be considered as rather hostile to the accounts given of the superabundant population of Hindustân in remote times?—I have now reliable information of the unexpected fact of a two-horned Rhinoceros having been killed in Asâm! where it is undoubtedly exceedingly rare. I was told this by a friend, whose informant (when in the province) had seen the two horns attached to the skin; but I cannot at present obtain further details.—As regards the reported existence of a one-horned Rhinoceros in Africa (*vide* p. 153 *antea*), Dr. Livingstone incidentally remarks—and I cite the whole passage because of its interest—that "Sportsmen have still some work before them in the way of discovering the fauna of Africa. This country abounds in game; and beyond Berotse, the herds of large animals surpass anything I ever saw [elsewhere], Eilands and Buffalos, their tameness was shocking to me: 81 Buffalos defiled slowly before our fire one evening, and Lions were impudent enough to roar at us. On the south of the Choba, where Bushmen abound, they are very seldom heard; these brave fellows teach them better manners. My boatmen informed me that he had seen an animal, with long wide-spreading horns like an Ox, called *Liombikalela*; also another animal, which does not live in the water, but snorts like a Hippopotamus, and is like that animal in size—it has a horn, and may be a one-horned Rhinoceros. And we passed some holes of a third animal, which burrows from the river inland, has short horns, and feeds only by night. I did not notice the burrows at the time of passing, but I give you the report as I got it. Sable Antelopes abound, and so does the Nakong; and there is a pretty little Antelope on the Sesheki, called *Teeanyane*, which seemed new to me. These animals did not lie in my line, so you must be content with this brief notice." (*Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, Vol. XXIV, 700.) A horned burrowing animal is not very likely to exist.

deposited about a hundred eggs, when she was surprised by a number of Burmese fishermen, who had been lying in ambush near the spot (a favourite resort of the common Turtle, *Chelonia virgata*), and, after a desperate struggle, was secured.

The strength, aided of course by the enormous weight, of the animal, was such, that she dragged six men endeavouring to stop her, down the slope of the beach, almost into the sea, when she was overpowered by increased numbers, lashed to some strong poles, and brought into the village by ten to twelve men at a time.

Being desirous of taking an accurate drawing of the Turtle, I was puzzled for some time how to induce her to sit for her portrait, as she was very restless, and, in her endeavours to scramble away, upset any moderate number of people that tried to stop her. At last, I had her slung with slings, as they hoist a water-butt on board a ship, from the branch of a tree, and then, with a guy or tripping line, from the tree to the caudal extremity of her shell, to prevent her slewing round, she hung quite motionless.

The description, in Dumeril and Bibron, of *Sphargis coriacea* is so minute and accurate, and applicable to the present specimen, that it would be mere repetition, were I to add, here, the notes which I took of the animal. I will merely mention the points in which it differs from the details given by the above authors. The principal one of which is the *colour*; due allowance being made for the specimens described in the Paris Museum d'Histoire Naturelle, having been more or less faded.

The colour of the animal, now under notice, while still alive, and fresh from the sea, was a plain blackish neutral tint, extending all over the carapax, crown, nucha, upper half of tail, and outer face of the paddles. The whole being dabbed over with white spots, of irregular shape, like little patches of white-wash. The seven tuberculous longitudinal ridges of the carapax were also whitish. All of the under-parts, including the sternal and abdominal shields, and the inner sides of the paddles, pale flesh-colour, blotched and spotted with pale blackish neutral, which, on the sternum, take the form of three longitudinal bands on each side of the mesial suture, with irregular edges and spotted intervals. The white spots, on the head, have a fleshy tinge. Throat reddish flesh-colour, marbled pale blackish; iris burnt umbre-brown.

Dumeril and Bibron's adult subject is described, as having the carapax "un brun marron" which, I should translate, as "castaneous-

brown" with pale yellowish patches; and the lower parts brown, as well as the head and neck.

The specimen, under review, was sufficiently aged to have lost all traces of plates or shields on the head, which was tolerably smooth, and apparently covered with a plain tight coriaceous skin, loosened into folds and wrinkles on the throat and neck, like that on the trunk of an Elephant. The paddles were covered with similar hard stretched leather. The fore-paddles had, on the extremities of the middle and little fingers, a triangular flat nail, the spaces answering to the ends of the index and ring-fingers being marked with a cucullinear sharpish edge of the skin. On the hind-paddle, the innermost or little toe will be found strongly relieved from the contour of the rest of the foot, and covered by a broad triangular scale or nail. These features will, doubtless, be apparent in the dry skin, and are particularly noted here, as Dumeril and Bibron deny the existence of any nails or scale extremities to either fore or hind digits.

The carinæ, or longitudinal ridges of the carapax, are not serrated ("faiblement dentelées en scie,") as in Dumeril and Bibron's subject, but are composed of lines of large, rough, and partly worn tubercles. No traces of plates are visible on either sternum or carapax, which are covered, as with hardened untanned leather apparently, continuous with the integuments of the neck and limbs. There are no traces of ridges or tubercles on the ventral aspect of the body; but the mesial line is marked by a slight depression.

The dimensions of the animal taken, rather roughly, by me, were as follow:

Entire length from upper lip to end of carapax,	6' 2½"	(straight).
Length of head,	1' 0⅜"	} Over the curves.
neck,	7⅜"	
carapax,	5' 6¾"	
Fore paddle,	3' 3½"	
Hind ditto,	2' 2½"	
Breadth of carapax,	2' 6¼"	
Depth of body,	2'	

Its weight I had not the means of ascertaining: but it required six men to lift it fairly off the ground; and Taloung fishermen are not a particularly feeble race.

The eggs were spherical, of 1⅝" diameter, and are as palatable as



those of the river Tortoise are nauseous. Besides those, the animal had laid in the sand, there, must have been upwards of a thousand in her ovaria, in all stages of maturity. The flesh was dark and coarse and very few of the crowds of Burmans assembled at Yé to see the animal would eat any of it. For the eggs there was a popular ferment.

According to my fishing friends, in that part of the country, this Turtle, which they called simply လိပ်ကြီး (*Lykgyee*, or 'large Turtle,') is of exceedingly rare occurrence. The few that have been seen were on the shores of the numerous islands along the coast. This was the first one they had ever found on the main-land. Cantor does not mention it in his catalogue of the *Chelonia* in the Malayan seas, nor does Jerdon in his list of those of the Indian peninsula. Dumeril and Bibron remark that it is very rare, and found in the Mediterranean and Atlantic Ocean. One is mentioned by Rondelet, captured at Frontignan, seven cubits long (!). Two more specimens are recorded as having been taken off the coast of France; and Borlase mentions one netted on the Cornwall coast in 1756, of which he has given, says Dumeril, "une mauvaise figure."

The only illustration, that I have seen of this animal is in Bell's British Reptiles. It is of a young one, and is copied from a plate in the "Fauna Italica" of the Prince of Musignano. Never having seen a young specimen, I cannot speak of the faithfulness or otherwise of the drawing.

*Sphargis coriacea* is stated, by Audubon, to resort to the Turtle islands of Florida, for the purpose of depositing its eggs. The average number laid by it may be 350; and it is less cautious than the common Turtle in performing this function. "Its food consists of mollusca, fish, crustacea, sea-urchins, and various marine plants," (Bell's *Reptilia*, p. 14). As far as my experience goes, the food of all *Chelonia* (excepting the *Potamidæ*) is purely vegetable.

Bell adds, that of two specimens of this Turtle taken, off Cornwall, in 1756, the larger weighed 800 lb., the smaller nearly 700. Another was caught on the coast of Dorsetshire, and is now, it is conjectured, the individual in the British Museum. An instance is related by Pennant, of the flesh of this animal causing serious illness to a person who had partaken of it, producing "dreadful vomiting and purging." Those who ate the individual now described, at Yé, experienced nothing of the kind.

S. R. TICKELL.

*The Chárváka System of Philosophy.*—By E. B. COWELL, M. A.

Colebrooke (Essays, Vol. I. p. 402) states that “for want of an opportunity of consulting an original treatise on this branch of philosophy or any connected summary furnished even by an adversary of opinions professed by the Chárvákas,” he was unable to give any sufficient account of their peculiar doctrine further than that it is undisguised materialism. The system is continually alluded to in different philosophical treatises, but it is only by the recent publication, in our Society’s Bibliotheca, of Mádhaváchárya’s Sarva-dars’ana-sangraha, that the want which Colebrooke regretted has in any way been supplied. Among the fourteen systems there analysed, that of the Chárvákas holds the first place; it being entitled to that priority in consequence of its being the most degraded of all,—the next places to it being successively occupied by those of the Bauddhas and the Jainas.

A translation of this chapter appeared in the fourteenth Vol. of the Zeitschrift der Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft, but unfortunately it abounds with errors of every description, that it can convey no proper idea of the original. In fact one might almost doubt whether such a book as the Sarvadars’ana-sangraha could be properly translated in Europe. Even here it is difficult to understand it in the absence of any commentary, even with all the assistance at one’s command of pandits thoroughly versed in the ancient philosophies of their ancestors; and there are many parts of the volume, which the most learned pandits of Bengal confess their inability to explain.\*

The doctrines of the Chárvákas are frequently confounded with those of the Bauddhas and Jainas, but Mádhava’s summary, as well as still more authentic notices from the sects themselves, proves that this is erroneous. Chárváka is sometimes taken as the name of a leader of the sect, and sometimes as a generic title,—in the Mahábhárata mention is made of a rákshasa of that name, who endeavours by a false report of Bhíma’s death to ruin the Páṇḍavas in the moment of their final triumph. Most accounts, however, ascribe the founding of the sect to Bṛihaspati. We might have more natur-

\* The present chapter is one of the easiest in the work, but there are several passages in it which I could not have translated, but for the aid of Pandit Mohesh Chandra Nyáyaratna.

ally expected, that the doctrines in question would have been attributed to S'ukra, the preceptor of the demons, rather than to Brihaspati, the preceptor of the gods; and plausible grounds for such an adjudication might have been found in the singular passage at the end of the Chháudogya Upanishad. There we read, that Indra among the gods and Virochana among the Asuras or demons, went to Prajápati to learn the knowledge of the Soul, and that Virochana acquiesced without further inquiry in the exoteric doctrine of the Self. "He, Virochana, with a feeling of satisfaction, repaired to the Asuras, and unto them imparted this instruction, 'Self alone is adorable; in this world Self alone should be served; by adoring and serving one's self, both this and the other world may be attained.' Therefore thenceforward the Asuras give no alms, have no faith in good works, and officiate at no sacrifice; hence are they called Asuras. This is their Upanishad. Their dead are besmeared with aromatics and adorned with ornaments and costly raiment, and they think that thereby they will overcome this region and that." Tradition, however, gives a different origin; and just as Vishnu is said to have assumed his ninth avatár as Buddha to destroy the daityas, so Brihaspati is described as promulgating his system to overthrow the pre-eminence of the sons of Ráji.

The legend is given with more or less detail in the Vishnu and Matsya Puránas.\* I subjoin the following abridgement of it from the Harivansa (chapter 28).

A'yus, the son of Purúravas of the lunar dynasty, had five sons, Nahusha, Vṛiddhas'arman, Rambha, Ráji and Anenas, of whom Ráji had five hundred sons. A great war was going on between the devas and asuras, and Brahmá had foretold victory to that side which was espoused by Ráji. The two parties claim his aid,† but on his demanding to be made an Indra as his reward, the demons refused, saying, "Our Indra is Prahráda." The gods on the other hand accept the proposed condition, and Ráji accordingly conquers their enemies and becomes during his lifetime their Indra. On Ráji's death, his 500 sons seize the inheritance, and Indra is unable to prevail against them. In the extremity of his distress he is repre-

\* The latter makes Brihaspati teach the Jaina doctrine.

† Ráji was descended by his father from Soma, but by his mother from Swarbhánu, a dánavá.

sented as going to Brihaspati and begging for a piece of the sacred Purodás'a though it were only the size of a jujube fruit, to support his fainting strength, just as Aristophanes represents the gods coming to Peisthetærus when the walls of Nephelococeygia interrupted the smoke of the sacrifices. Brihaspati in compassion promises to aid him in recovering his lost dominion, and for this purpose he invented a new system of atheistical doctrines, "A practical S'ástra of atheism, utterly hostile to religion, most subtle of logical systems, and beguiling the hearts of the wicked, though such as could never please the mind of the truly virtuous." This new S'ástra of Brihaspati easily deluded the minds of the young princes, and they soon lost all their merit and fell from their 'pride of place,' and Indra regained his throne.

The earliest mention which I have found of the word *Nástika* (nihilist,) or its derivatives is in the Maitráyapí Upanishad (3rd book, § 5) where *Nástikya* is enumerated as one of the effects of the quality of darkness.\* *Nástika* and *Nástikya* occur several times in Manu. In the Rámáyana we have an allusion to *nástikas* in ch. 109 (Schlegel'sed), of the Ayodhyá Kánda, where Ráma censures Jábáli for advising him to break his father's vow and return to his capital.

"I blame that deed of my father that he chose as his priest one so unstable-minded as thee,—wandering to ruin with such opinions, a very atheist (*Nástika*) astray from the path of religion.

"As is the thief, so too is the Bauddha; and know that the *Nástika* is equal to them. Therefore the sage whom men most hold in awe, will not speak face to face with the *Nástika*.†"

We find *Nástika* as well as *ástika* in the Purohitagana attached to Pápiní's grammar. I have already mentioned that Chárváka ap-

\* Buddhist, or materialist, opinions seem alluded to in such passages as Chhándogya Upanishad, VI. 2, 1, &c.

† There is a variation in Schlegel's text and that of the late Calcutta edition. The former has तस्माद्भि यः शक्यतमः प्रजानां; the latter has शक्यतमः, and the Schol. explains the S'loka thus;

बुद्धो बुद्धमतानुसारो तथा चोरवद् दण्ड इति प्रसिद्धं नास्तिकं चार्वाकं तथागतं तत्सदृशं चोरवद् दण्डं विद्धि। नास्तिकविशेषस्तथागतः तस्मिन् चोरवद् दण्डमिति शेष इत्यन्ये। वेदप्रामाण्यापहर्षत्वेन तेषामपि चोरत्वात्। हि निश्चयेन तस्मात् प्रजानामनुग्रहाय राज्ञा चोरवदेव दण्डयितुं शक्यतमो यः स चोरवदेव दण्डः दण्डयोग्ये तु बुधे ब्राह्मणे नास्तिकेऽभिमुखो न स्यात् तत्सम्भाषणादि न कुर्वीतेत्यर्थः। तुल्यन्यायात् दण्डसमर्थो ब्राह्मणेऽपि तद्विमुखः स्यादिति सूचितं।



pears as a demon in the Mahábhárata, and he is there described as killed by the curses of some Bráhmans of Yudhishtíra's party.

Some authorities say that Brihaspati taught his doctrines to his disciple Chárváka, but if we may judge by the occasional quotations, the so-called Brihaspati-s'ástra must have been from ancient times the text-book of the sect. No copy is now known to exist,\* but we have quite enough extant in the form of quotations to enable us to judge of the character of the work. Its author, like Lucretius among the Romans or Omar Khayyám among the Persians, was strong to overthrow,—he could ridicule the absurdities of superstition, but he was blind to the religious instincts which underlie them,—and hence they are, all alike, men

—when faith had fall'n asleep,  
Who heard a voice 'believe no more,'  
And heard an ever-breaking shore  
That tumbled in the godless deep.

Of course if we look at these blind gropings of bewildered humanity simply in themselves, they can have nothing to teach or even interest us; but it is not so, if we consider them in relation to the history of the human mind. The Chárváka doctrines, and in fact, all such purely negative systems, may be regarded from three separate points of view, and it is as seen under these several aspects that they present such widely varying characters. If we only look at them so far as they deny the deepest instincts of our nature, we can but turn from them in disgust and horror,—the belief in God and in the soul's immortality are not the results of logical inference, but the very postulates of human thought, and we deny our own humanity if we choose to question them. Again, so far as these sceptical systems only uttered a protest against the superstitions of their age, we may regard them not only with pity but with mournful interest. But so far as they express the negative side of philosophy, they may even claim our most serious attention, for they help us to remember those natural limitations and defects of the human mind, which we are so apt to forget in the excitement of new discoveries. Are they not in fact

\* Since writing this paper we have received the third part of Vol. XIX. of the Royal Asiatic Society's Journal, which contains a paper by Mr. Muir on the fragments of Brihaspati as compared with similar passages in the Rámáyana and Vishnu Purána. He there states that Dr. Hall had in vain searched for any copy of these Bārhaspatya S'lokas. We may well despair of their being ever found, if even the discoverer of the Bháratíya S'ástra has failed to find any trace.



the necessary shadow that the human mind flings as it advances,—the slave set to warn the conqueror in the triumphal procession ?

We now proceed to give a literal translation of Mádhava's account of the system from the Sarva-dars'ana Sangraha.

*The Chárváka doctrine.*

We have said in our preliminary invocation "salutation to S'iva, the abode of eternal knowledge, the storehouse of supreme felicity," but how can we attribute to the Divine Being the giving of supreme felicity, when such a notion has been utterly abolished by Chárváka, the crest-gem of the atheistical school, the follower of the doctrine of Brihaspati? The efforts of Chárváka are indeed hard to be eradicated, for the majority of living beings hold by the current refrain,

While life is yours, live joyously,  
None can escape Death's searching eye;  
When once this frame of ours they burn,  
How shall we e'er again return?

The mass of men, in accordance with the S'ástras of policy and enjoyment\* considering wealth and desire the only ends of man, and denying the existence of any thing belonging to a future world, are found to follow only the doctrine of Chárváka. Hence another name for that school is Lokáyata,—a name well accordant with the thing signified.†

In this school the four elements, earth, &c., are the original principles,—from these alone when transformed into the body, intelligence is produced, just as the inebriating power is developed from the mixing of certain ingredients,‡ and when these are destroyed, intelligence at once perishes also. They quote the S'ruti for this (Bṛihad Áraṇy. Up. II. 4. 12.), "springing forth from these elements, itself solid knowledge, it is destroyed when they are destroyed,—after death no

\* See Dr. Hall's preface to the Váśavadattá, p. 11.

† "S'ankara, Bháskara, and other commentators name the Lokáyatikas, and these appear to be a branch of the Sect of Chárváka" (Colebrooke). Lokáyata may be etymologically analysed as 'prevalent in the world' (*loka*, and *áyata*). Laukáyatika occurs in Páṇini's ukthagaṇa.

‡ *Kṛṇwa* is explained as "a drug or seed used to produce fermentation in the manufacture of spirits from sugar, bassia, &c." Colebrooke quotes from S'ankara: "The faculty of thought results from a modification of the aggregate elements in like manner as sugar with a ferment and other ingredients becomes an inebriating liquor; and as betel, areca, lime and extract of catechu chewed together, have an exhilarating property not found in those substances severally."

intelligence remains.”\* Therefore the soul is only the body distinguished by the attribute of intelligence, since there is no evidence for any soul distinct from the body, as such cannot be proved, since this school holds that perception is the only source of knowledge and does not allow inference, &c.

The only end of man is enjoyment produced by sensual pleasures. Nor may you say that such cannot be called the end of man as they are always mixed with some kind of pain,—because it is our wisdom to enjoy the pure pleasure as far as we can, and to avoid the pain which inevitably accompanies it; just as the man who desires fish, takes the fish with their scales and bones, and having taken as many as he wants, desists; or just as the man who desires rice, takes the rice, straw and all, and having taken as much as he wants, desists. It is not therefore for us, through a fear of pain, to reject the pleasure which our nature instinctively recognises as congenial. Men do not refrain from sowing rice, because forsooth there are wild animals to devour it; nor do they refuse to set the cooking-pots on the fire, because forsooth there are beggars to pester us for a share of the contents. If any one were so timid as to forsake a visible pleasure, he would indeed be foolish like a beast, as has been said by the poet,

The pleasure which arises to men from contact with sensible objects  
Is to be relinquished as accompanied by pain,—such is the reasoning of  
fools;  
The berries of paddy, rich with the finest white grains,  
What man, seeking his true interest, would fling away, because covered with  
husk and dust?†

If you object, that, if there be no such thing as happiness in a future world, then how will men of experienced wisdom engage in the agnihotra and other sacrifices, which can only be performed with great expenditure of money and bodily fatigue?—your objection cannot be accepted as any proof to the contrary, since the agnihotra, &c., are only useful as means of livelihood, for the Veda is tainted by the three faults of untruth, self-contradiction and tautology;‡ then

\* Of course S’ankara, in his commentary, gives a very different interpretation, applying it to the cessation of individual existence when the knowledge of the Supreme is once attained. Cf. S’abara’s Comm. Jaimini Sút. i. i. 5.

† I take कण as here equal to दूँड.—Cf. Atharva V. xi. 3, 5. अन्वाः कणा गाव-  
सण्डुला मशकास्तृपाः.

‡ See Nyáya Sútras, II. 57.

again, the impostors who call themselves Vaidic pundits are mutually destructive, as the authority of the jnána-kāṇḍa is overthrown by those who maintain that of the karma-kāṇḍa, while those who maintain the authority of the jnána-kāṇḍa reject that of the karma-kāṇḍa; and lastly the three Vedas themselves are only the incoherent rhapsodies of knaves, and to this effect runs the popular saying,\*

The Agnihotra, the three Vedas, the ascetic's three staves, and smearing oneself with ashes,—

Bṛihaspati says, these are but means of livelihood for those who have no manliness nor sense.

Hence it follows that there is no other hell than mundane pain produced by purely mundane causes, as thorns, &c.; the only Supreme is the earthly monarch whose existence is proved by actual perception; and the only Liberation is the dissolution of the body. By holding the doctrine that the soul is identical with the body, such phrases as 'I am thin,' 'I am black,' &c. are at once intelligible, as the attributes of thinness, &c. and intelligence will reside in the same subject (the body); and the use of the phrase 'my body' is elliptical, like 'the head of Ráhu' (Ráhu being really *all head*).

All this has been thus summed up,

In this school there are four elements, earth, water, fire and air;

And from these four elements alone is intelligence produced,—

Just like the intoxicating power from kiṇwa, &c. mixed together;

Since in 'I am fat,' 'I am lean,' these attributes abide in the same subject,

And since fatness, &c. reside only in the body,† it alone is the soul and no other,

And such phrases as 'my body' are only significant by ellipsis.

"Be it so," says the opponent, "your wish would be gained, if inference, &c. had no force of proof; but then they have this force; else, if they had not, then how on perceiving smoke, should the thoughts of the intelligent immediately proceed to fire; or why, on hearing another say 'there are fruits on the bank of the river,' do those who desire fruit proceed at once to the shore?"

All this, however, is only the inflation of the world of fancy.

Those who maintain the authority of inference accept the *sign*, or middle term, as the causer of knowledge, which middle term must

\* The word *ābhánaka*, which occurs several times in the S. D. S. (c. g. p. 107), is not found in any lexicon. The Pandits explain it by *kimvadantí*.

† I read देहे for देहः.

be found in the minor and be itself invariably connected with the major.\* Now this invariable connection must be a relation destitute of any condition, accepted or disputed;† and this connection does not possess its power of causing inference by virtue of its *existence*, as the eye, &c. are the cause of perception, but by virtue of its being *known*. What then is the means of this connection's being known?

We will first shew that it is not *perception*. Now perception is held to be of two kinds, external and internal, *i. e.* as produced by the external senses, or by the inner sense, mind. The former is not the required means; for although it is possible that the actual contact of the senses and the object will produce the knowledge of the particular object thus brought in contact, yet as there can never be such contact in the case of the past or the future, the universal proposition‡ which was to embrace the invariable connection of the middle and major terms in every case, becomes impossible to be known. Nor may you maintain that this knowledge of the universal proposition has the general class as its object, because, if so, there might arise a doubt as to the existence of the invariable connection in this particular case,§ (as, for instance, in this particular smoke as implying fire).

Nor is internal perception the means, since you cannot establish that the mind has any power to act independently towards an external object, since all allow that it is dependent on the external senses, as has been said by one of the logicians, "The eye, &c., have their objects as described; but mind externally is dependent on the others."

Nor can *inference* be the means of the knowledge of the universal proposition, since in the case of this inference, we should also require another inference to establish it, and so on, and hence would arise the fallacy of an *ad infinitum* retrogression.

Nor can *testimony* be the means thereof, since we may either allege in reply, in accordance with the Vais'eshika doctrine of Kaṇāda, that this is included in the topic of inference; or else we may hold that this fresh proof of testimony is unable to leap over the old barrier

\* Literally "must be an attribute of the subject and have invariable attend-  
edness (*vyāpti*.)"

† For the *sandigdha* and *niśchita upādhi* see Siddhānta Muktvāli, p. 125.  
The former is accepted only by one party.

‡ Literally, the knowledge of the invariable attendedness (as of smoke by fire).

§ The attributes of the class are not always found in every member,—thus idiots are men, though man is a rational animal; and again, this particular smoke might be a sign of a fire in some other place.

that stopped the progress of inference, since it depends itself on the recognition of a *sign*, in the form of the language used in the child's presence by the old man;\* and moreover there is no more reason for our believing on another's word, that smoke and fire are invariably connected, than for our receiving the ipse dixit of Manu, &c., (which of course we Chárvákas reject).

And again, if testimony were to be accepted as the only means of the knowledge of the universal proposition, then in the case of a man to whom the fact of the invariable connection between the middle and major terms had not been pointed out by another person, there could be no inference of one thing (as fire) on seeing another thing (as smoke); hence, on your own shewing, the whole topic of inference for oneself† would have to end in mere idle words.

Then again *comparison*,‡ &c., must be utterly rejected as the means of the knowledge of the universal proposition, since it is impossible that they can produce the knowledge of the unconditioned connection (*i. e.* the universal proposition), because their end is to produce the knowledge of quite another connection, viz., the relation of a name to something so named.

Again, this same absence of a condition,§ which has been given as the definition of an invariable connection (*i. e.* a universal proposition;) can itself never be known; since it is impossible to establish that all conditions must be objections of perception, and therefore although the absence of perceptible things may be itself perceptible, the absence of non-perceptible things must be itself non-perceptible, and thus, since we must here too have recourse to inference, &c., we cannot leap over the obstacle which has already been planted to bar them. Again, we must accept as the definition of the condition, "it is that which is reciprocal or equipollent in extension|| with the major term,

\* See Sálitya Darpaṇa (Dr. Ballantyne's trans. p. 16) and Siddhānta M. p. 80.

† The properly logical, as distinguished from the rhetorical, argument.

‡ "*Upamāna* or the knowledge of a similarity is the instrument in the production of an inference from similarity. This particular inference consists in the knowledge of the relation of a name to something so named," Dr. Ballantyne's Tarka Sangraha.

§ The upādhi is the condition which must be supplied to restrict a too general middle term, as in the inference 'the mountain has smoke because it has fire,' if we add wet fuel as the condition of the fire, the middle term will be no longer too general. In the case of a true vyāpti there is of course no upādhi.

|| Α'ντιστρέφει. We have here our own A with distributed predicate.



though not constantly accompanying the middle." These three distinguished clauses, "not constantly accompanying the middle term," "constantly accompanying the major term," and "being constantly accompanied by it" (*i. e.* reciprocal), are needed in the full definition to stop respectively three such fallacious conditions, in the argument to prove the non-eternity of sound, as 'being produced,' 'the nature of a jar,' and 'the not causing audition;'"\* wherefore the definition holds,—and again it is established by the s'loka of the great Doctor beginning *samásama*.†

But since the knowledge of the condition must here precede the knowledge of the condition's absence, it is only when there is the knowledge of the condition, that the knowledge of the universality of the proposition is possible, *i. e.* a knowledge in the form of such a connection between the middle term and major term as is distinguished by the absence of any such condition; and on the other hand the knowledge of the condition depends upon the knowledge of the in-

\* If we omitted the first clause and only made the upádhi "that which constantly accompanies the major term and is constantly accompanied by it," then in the Naiyáyik argument 'sound is non-eternal, because it has the class of sound,' 'being produced' would serve as a Mímánsik upádhi, to establish the *vyabhichára* fallacy, as it is reciprocal with 'non-eternal;' but the omitted clause excludes it, as an Upádhi must be consistent with *either* party's opinions, and of course the Naiyáyik maintains that 'being produced' *always* accompanies the class of sound. Similarly if we defined the upádhi as 'not constantly accompanying the middle term and constantly accompanied by the major,' we might have as an upádhi 'the nature of a jar,' as this is never found with the middle term (the class or nature of sound only residing in sound, and that of a jar only in a jar,) while at the same time wherever the class of jar is found there is also found non-eternity. Lastly if we defined the upádhi as "not constantly accompanying the middle term, and constantly accompanying the major," we might have as a Mímánsik upádhi 'the not causing audition' *i. e.* the not being apprehended by the organs of hearing; but this is excluded, as non-eternity is not always found where this is, ether being inaudible and yet eternal.

† This refers to an obscure s'loka of Udayanáchárya, "where a reciprocal and a non-reciprocal universal-connection (*i. e.* universal propositions which severally do and do not distribute their predicates) relate to the same argument (as *e. g.* to prove the existence of smoke,) there that non-reciprocating term of the second will be a fallacious middle, which is not invariably accompanied by the other reciprocal of the first." Thus 'the mountain has smoke because it has fire' (here fire and smoke are non-reciprocating, as fire is not found invariably accompanied by smoke though smoke is by fire,) or 'because it has fire from wet fuel' (smoke and fire from wet fuel being reciprocal and always accompanying each other); the non-reciprocating term of the former (fire) will give a fallacious inference, because it is also, of course, not invariably accompanied by the special kind of fire, that produced from wet fuel. But this will not be the case, where the non-reciprocating term *is* thus invariably accompanied by the other reciprocal, as 'the mountain has fire because it has smoke;' here though fire and smoke do not reciprocate, yet smoke will be a true middle, because it is invariably accompanied by heat which is the reciprocal of fire.

variable connection. Thus we fasten on our opponents as with adamantine glue the thunderbolt-like fallacy of reasoning in a circle. Hence by the impossibility of knowing the universality of a proposition it becomes impossible to establish inference, &c.\*

The step which the mind takes from the knowledge of smoke, &c., to the knowledge of fire, &c., can be accounted for by its being based on a former perception or by its being an error; and that in some cases this step is justified by the result, is accidental just like the coincidence of effects observed in the employment of gems, charms, drugs, &c.

From this it follows that fate, &c.† do not exist, since these can only be proved by inference. But an opponent will say, if you thus do not allow *adṛishṭa*, the various phenomena of the world become destitute of any cause. But we cannot accept this objection as valid, since these phenomena can all be produced spontaneously from the inherent nature of things. Thus it has been said,

The fire is hot, the water cold, refreshing cool the breeze of morn,  
By whom came this variety? from their own nature was it born.

And all this has been also said by Brihaspati.

There is no heaven, no final liberation, nor any soul in another world,  
Nor do the actions of the four castes, orders, &c., produce any real effect.  
The Agnihotra, the three Vedas, the ascetic's three staves, and smearing  
one's self with ashes,

Were made by Nature‡ as the livelihood of those destitute of knowledge  
and manliness.

If a beast slain in the Jyotishṭoma rite will itself go to heaven,  
Why then does not the sacrificer forthwith offer his own father?  
If the S'rāddha produces gratification to beings who are dead,  
Then here too in the case of travellers when they start, it is needless to give  
provisions for the journey.

If beings in heaven are gratified by our offering the S'rāddha here,  
Then why not give the food down below to those who are standing on the  
housetop?

\* Cf. Sextus Empiricus, P. Hyp. ii.—In S. D. S. pp. 7, 8, we have an attempt to establish the authority of the universal proposition from the relation of cause and effect or genus and species.

† *Adṛishṭa*, i. e. the merit and demerit in our actions which produce their effects in future births.

‡ I take Dhātri as = God, or nature, speaking by common parlance. Dr. Hall (Catalogue, p. 162) would seem to take Dhātri as the name of an author,—Dhātri may sometimes stand for Brihaspati.

While life remains, let a man live happily, let him feed on ghce, even though  
he runs in debt,

When once the body becomes ashes, how can it ever return again?

If he who departs from the body goes to another world,

How is it that he comes not back again, restless for love of his kindred?

Hence it is only as a means of livelihood that Brahmins have established  
here

All these ceremonies for the dead,—there is no other fruit anywhere.

The three authors of the Vedas were buffoons, knaves and demons.

All the well known formulæ of the pandits, jarpharí, turpharí, &c.\*

And all the obscene rites for the queen commanded in the *Aswamedha*,

These were invented by buffoons, and so all the various kinds of presents to  
the priests,†

While the eating of flesh was similarly commanded by night prowling  
demons.

Hence in kindness to the mass of living beings must we fly for  
refuge to the doctrine of Chárváka. Such is the pleasant consummation.

It would have been an interesting inquiry, if we could have traced  
the relations between the Hindu materialism and the orthodox systems  
on the one hand and Buddhism on the other. But we can only weary  
ourselves with asking questions to which there can be no answer, as  
all traces of chronology and successive development have been obli-  
terated in the present sūtras of the Dars'anas. Each one now seems  
to imply the contemporary existence of all the rest, and consequently  
for historical purposes they are delusive and useless. We can only  
tell that at a very early period in Hindu speculation, the "negative  
arm" was unusually vigorous; and it would not perhaps be impossible  
to reconstruct from still extant allusions a complete series (though  
not in chronological order,) corresponding in Greek philosophy to that  
from Xenophanes to Sextus Empiricus.

\* Rig veda, x. 106.—For the *As'wamedha* rites, see Wilson's *Rig V.*, preface,  
Vol. ii. p. xiii.

† Or this may mean "and all the various other things to be handled in the  
rites." There seems something omitted in the s'lokas, as only two classes are  
specified, and we should naturally expect that the knaves would have been con-  
nected with the various offerings to the priests.—Could we venture to read भण्ड-  
कानां for पण्डितानां, and धूर्तैः for भण्डैः ?

By way of conclusion to this paper I subjoin a singular passage from the Uttara Naishadha of S'ri Harsha, which puts together in a compact form the principal Chárváka arguments against the authority of the Veda, the Smṛiti, and the orthodox philosophical systems. S'ri Harsha (whatever his precise date\*) lived late in the silver age of Sanskrit literature, but his works have a great authority in such matters, as he had a profound acquaintance with every part of Hindu philosophy; and hence his poems enjoy a great celebrity even among Naiyáyik Pandits, who, as a rule, are generally considered to despise the 'primrose path' of poetry.†

He represents the five deities as returning to heaven from Damayantí's Swayamvara, and on their way they meet the retinue of Kali, the presiding dæmon of the iron age. Foremost in the multitude are seen Káma, Anger, Covetousness and Folly, and behind them follow a tumultuous throng of worshippers, among whom the representative of the Chárváka philosophy holds of course a pré-eminent place.

As this host drew near, like a sea that hath burst its bounds,

The gods heard from some one in the midst words harsh to their ears.

"The truth of the S'ruti for the effect of sacrifices is like that which tells of stones that swim;‡

What faith can we place in it, Oh ye grey-bearded sages, that the path of enjoyment should be left?

A certain Bodhisatwa has arisen to give a mortal stab to the Veda,

Who has declared by infallible proofs that all the world is in a state of flux.§

The daily fire, the rules of the Veda, the ascetic's vow, the sectarian mark of ashes,—

Bṛihaspati tells us that these are the livelihood of those who lack sense and manhood.

Purity of caste consists in the purity of both lines of our ancestors through each backward generation;

Then what caste can be faultless now, divided as each is into endless families?

Through the contact of women, what man is there undefiled by sin?

Why then does the infatuated world fast and bathe debarred from enjoyment?

\* See Dr. Hall's Vāsavadattá, Preface.

† The *S'rottriya-jarannimánsakádayah* are excepted from the hopeful students of poetry by the Sáhitya Darpaṇa.

‡ This alludes to some Vaidic passage *grávānah plavanti*, which seems to have become proverbial, cf. Maháviracharitra, p. 13.

§ Alluding to the well-known doctrine of the Buddhist sect, the Mádhyamikas, *sarvam kṣaṇikam, páṇṭa pēi*. It is worth observing that S'ri Harsha, in common with most later Hindu authors, confounds the Buddhists and Chárvákas.

Fie on those who boast of the purity of their race and jealously keep their women secluded,

And yet keep not their men secluded, though each sex is equally blinded by passion.

That s'ástra which forbids adultery,—idle illusion as it is,—

Was itself disregarded by Indra when he wooed Ahalyá.\*

Oh Brahmins, cease to attribute sin to approaching a guru's wife,

Since your Master,† the Moon, plunged reckless into this snare.

"The dead hath torment from his sins and joy from his merits," thus saith the Veda,

But sense-evidence attesteth the contrary,—it is for you to determine which is the stronger.

If siu is to be avoided, from the possibility that we may attain another body after death,

Then, Bráhmans, cease to sacrifice from the possibility of the sin of injuring living animals.

How can you put faith in good actions (*sukṛita*) and not in good enjoyments (*surata*)?

Let a man do that action by which at the end his happiness is increased.

Commit sins as forced by your passions, and then they will be as not done,

Manu said that those actions were as not done which were committed by force.‡

Oh ye followers of tradition, dispute not this passage of your owu s'ástras,

But follow every pleasure which your heart may desire.

Where is there union among the learned in the interpretation of S'ruti and Smṛiti?

Interpretation depends on the interpreter's power of mind,—wherefore despise not ours which leads to happiness.

When the body is once burned, which is the true subject of the thought 'I am,' what becomes of sin?

If the soul, which is separate and the witness, is to suffer, then why not any other unconnected thing?

The dead man remembers his former births,—the successive waves of the fruits of actions affect the dead,—

The dead hath pleasure in food eaten by Bráhmans,—enough of this talk of knaves!

By men who *feèl* that they are only body,—when told that they are something else,

This very body is disregarded and some other object accepted, through the all-deceiving Veda's influence!

\* May we not compare Terence (Eun. III. 5), as exemplified in St. Augustine's confessions (I. 16)? The same argument recurs in the Das'akumára Charitra.

† Soma is the king of the Bráhmans as Iudra of the Kshatriyas (Taitt. Saubhita, I. 8. 10).

‡ Mauu, viii. 168.—Cf. Aristotle, Nic. Ethics. III. 1, 23.



Ono side of an alternative *must* come to pass,—so when the desire is fulfilled  
The cheats say their mantras were the cause, which in case of failure were not  
rightly performed.\*

If He alone by the sins of all is already plunged into infinite suffering,†  
Then, timid one, how can this revealed Soul feel any new burden through sin of  
thine?

Of what use is a flower plucked from its stalk? only when growing thereon does it  
bring forth fruit;

If thou would'st place it on the head of a stone, as identical with deity,‡ then why  
not place it at once on thine own?

Fling away like empty chaff thy bitter speeches against women,—

Why longer deceive the world, when thou thyself art equally depraved?

Follow the commands of Kámadeva, which even Brahmá and the rest did not  
disobey;

The Veda is the command of the gods, and what command more authoritative  
than his?

If you allow that a part of the Veda is only idle repetition,§

Then by what ill-fortune do you hold it not of those parts which inflict toil and  
expense?

Ye believe the authority of the Veda, stout-hearted champions in Vaidic discus-  
sions,

And yet, bewildered as ye are, yourselves pronounce interpolated the passage  
that enjoins the gift of the elephant tied to the post.

The Vaidic passage which says, “Who knoweth what is in the other world,”

By that very authority how can one accept another world at all?

Manu,—talking of merit and demerit, the one impossible to be gained as the  
other to be avoided,

And seeking under the pretext to mulct mankind,—has been idly followed by the  
learned.

‘Verily by the words of Vyása comes faith in another world,’ thus ye say, logi-  
cians as ye are;

O ye disciples of the fish, who would deign even to call you fishes?

That Vyása of yours, the Court poet of the Pándavas, well versed in the syco-  
phant's art,

When was he ever known to speak a contrary word, if his patrons either  
praised or blamed?

Did not Vyása through passion commit adultery with his brother's wife?

\* Cf. the Bengali proverb, *আবার হাতিযশ ও তোমার কপাল*.

† Alluding to the Vedántic doctrine that all are Brahma.

‡ *I. e.* as the S'alagrám, &c., as identical with Vishnu, &c. I would read in the  
second line *বন্ধুর্নি*.

§ Alluding to the *arthaváda* as distinguished from the *vidhi*.

Or again when he loved his maidservant, can his mother's command be his excuse *then* ?\*

Books made by gods and Bráhmans are your only authority for paying them homage,—

And see ye not, when ye bow down to the cow, ye debase yourselves even lower than *that* ?

Bravely have our passionless priests relinquished desires—ever hankering after sacrifices,

And longing, even when they are dead, to obtain a heaven of apsaras with eyes like fawns.

Why seek to be passionless, ye sages ? rather labour to win the love of the fair ; When once a creature is dust, it is idle to think that he comes hither again.

Let both sexes devote themselves to enjoyment,—such is the opinion

Even of the Muni Pápiní, when he said “*apavarge trítíyá*.”†

Men dive into the Ganges in hopes to rise higher thereby

Like a ram forsooth who retreats backward before he rushes forward to charge !

Why should we fear such Vaidic threats as “by this sin one will become a beast ?”

Even the rájila‡ is as happy as a rája in its own means of enjoyment.

If the slain in battle rejoice in heaven,§ then the demons,

Slain by Vishnu in battle, may fight with him there, slain though they be.

“In the world there is Brahma and the self,|| in liberation there is only Brahma,”

Oh the wisdom of the Vedántists who would make liberation to be the self's obliterating !

He too who propounded his system that a stone's state is the true liberation,—

You may well call him Gotama, for a superlative fool was he.¶

The wives of S'iva, Vishnu, &c., are intensely devoted to their lords ;

Why then are they still the prisoners of love—why have they not attained to liberation ?

If there be a Supreme Being all-knowing, all-merciful, and whose word never fails,

Then why does he not make us, suppliants, happy by the mere expense of a word ?

The Supreme producing sorrow to mortals, arising from their evil deeds,

Would be an enemy without a cause, while others hate only when provoked.

Since all are equally vacillating in proof and each destroys the other,

What opinion is there which is not futile, just like two contradictory premises ?

\* His mother had given him her command in the first case as his brother died without issue, but this excuse will not hold in the second.

† This grammatical rule (Pán. II. 3, 6) properly means “the third (case is to used) when the action is continuously performed till the desired end is obtained,” (as “he read it in a month,” *máseṇa*), but S'ríharsha puns on each word and makes it mean “the third (*i. e.* in the list of objects of human desire—merit, wealth, enjoyment and final liberation) is to be used to obtain the final end.”

‡ A kind of snake.

§ Bhag. Gítá, II.

|| *Swa* means here the individual soul. He now proceeds to attack the different systems of philosophy, beginning with the Vedánta.

¶ *Go + lama*. For the *muktí* of the Nyáya, see Nyáya Sút. I. 22.

Ascetics, wrathful themselves, teach others to restrain their wrath,  
Just as the penniless alchemist will teach you the rules to turn everything to  
gold.

Why give away your wealth? S'rí, Vishnu's beloved, loves him who giveth not ;  
Poor Bali, who gave away all his wealth to the dwarf, found a chain as his reward  
(Give not) for every body desires to rob or injure the wealthy man ;  
Hardly one can be found who sits tranquil and has flung away the greed of gain.  
Not to steal makes poverty thrive, to hold any food unlawful cheats the belly ;  
Live then as you will, this is the only root which bears the shoot of happiness."  
Having heard these evil words Indra burst into anger,  
And loudly exclaimed, " Who is this that stabs the heart of religion ?  
Who dares thus to speak while I, Indra, rule the three worlds,  
I with my hand flashing with the thunderbolt, and the worlds with the three  
Vedas as their eyes !

As for the non-commixture of the castes, their continuance or interruption,—  
Bow to the proof that no murderer has escaped on this plea in the ordeals.  
The paramour of a woman known to belong to the upper castes, finds not victory  
in his oath,—

This fact proclaims the purity of the generations of all the castes.  
Thou acknowledgest the ordeals of water and fire, as ordained in the Veda,  
For shame,—do not these force thy mind to throttle these atheistic thoughts ?  
Even though the marriage rites are lawfully performed, the production of issue is  
uncertain,—

Oh ye atheists, how is it that some unseen cause pierces not your hearts with  
conviction ?

Why believest thou not the stories, attested by men of different countries,  
Of men born again as goblins who have assumed some body and implored a  
s'raddha at Gayá ?

How dost thou not credit the corroborating stories of another world  
Told by men on their return who have been seized by Yama's messengers under  
a mistaken name ?"

Then the god of fire flamed forth and scornfully addressed him,  
" How darest thou in our presence thus to speak with unbridled tongue ?  
Oh thou who faintest at a moment's fast, art thou not astounded to remember  
The ancient fasters of twelve days and nights who supported life by the sole  
power of their religion ?

The visible effects which follow such rites as that for a son, and the hawk and karíra  
offerings,\*—

How is it that these do not dispel like sunrise the prowling demons of thy  
doubts as to religion ?"

\* The hawk sacrifice is used to imprecate destruction on an enemy. For the offering made with the fruit of the capparís aphylla (*Karíra*), for rain, see Taitt. Sanh. II. 4, 7—10.

Then making the sky flash with sparks as he shook his staff to and fro,  
Yama thus poured forth the waves of his speech, as if his heart was pierced by  
the other's words.

"Stay, stay while I forthwith silence thy lips and throat,  
Wretch as thou art that utterest these hostile words in the midst of our assembly.  
Oh Lokáyata, who for thy mere words will give up the other world,  
Established by the Vedas and hundreds of opinions that wear the garb of the  
Veda ?

When there is a dispute about the true road, between a few and many of equal  
claims to knowledge,  
As thou wouldst act in regard to an earthly journey,—why not thus too as re-  
gards another world ?

Whoso sees the consent of all men to give away their daughters to others,\*  
How can that man's faith but be firm in the reality of another world ?  
If *any* opinion be true, then those who forsake all opinions must be undone ;  
If a rite fails, it is only the defect of fruit, but positive injury can never come  
from following duty.

Either from the general consent of mankind, or the fear of guilt to be incurred,  
Some Vaidic principles are obeyed by all,—then, if these, why not *all* for their  
sake ?"

Then spake Varuna, red with wrath, a speech devoid of pity,

"Base heretic, why fearest thou not my tremendous noose ?

There are stones beyond man's power to make, marked with Vishnu's incarna-  
tions,

How is it, ye fools, that these do not persuade you to the path of the holy ?  
Indra's title S'atakratu and the very names of the castes, as born from the thigh,  
&c.†

Why do not these confound you with the old traditions of the Veda ?

How do ye not believe the Vedas when ye see by sense perception

The dead animating various shapes and imploring a s'ráddha at Gayá, &c. ?

Forsake not the Vedas when ye yourselves behold men bearing witness to their  
truth

Who have been carried to Yama by some mistake of name and have then re-  
turned to their bodies."

Then stepping forth from Kali's host, which stood paralysed by the wrath of the  
gods,

The varlet thus lifted his voice, raising folded hands to his forehead,

"I am not guilty, oh lords of heaven,—I am subject to another's will,

I am but the bard of the Kali Yuga,‡ fair-tongued to flatter it."

\* It would not be done but for the S'ruti's command.

† S'atakratu is a common Vaidic and non-Vaidic name of Indra (*e. g.* Rig V. I. 4, 8.) The mythic origin of the four castes occurs in the Purusha-súta.

‡ In Schlegel's Rámáyana we find Jábáli similarly apologising.

The most remarkable part of this singular episode is the rejoinder of the four gods to the Chárváka's attack, as it is difficult to conceive that the arguments adduced could ever have been considered as of any weight in the discussion. It is perhaps a bold surmise, but I cannot help drawing the inference, that we have here a symptom of a very important phase of Hindu thought which has been only casually noticed by European inquirers. S'rí Harsha is the advocate of a peculiar school of Hindu philosophy, which holds the same place between the older Dars'anas and the absolute negation of the Chárvákas, as the sceptical school of Pyrrho and the new academy of Arcesilaus did with regard to the older Greek systems and the later Epicureans. "Academici novam induxerunt scientiam, nihil scire," says Seneca; and Pyrrho's doctrines are well enough known to us in that "armoury of scepticism," Sextus Empiricus, where every department of human knowledge is attacked, and every affirmation or negation met by the same unruffled ἐποχή between equally balanced alternatives.

In the same way S'rí Harsha in his celebrated work *Khaṇḍana-Khaṇḍa-Khādyā* ('the sweetmeat of universal refutation') has endeavoured to establish a quasi Vedantic ἀκαταληψία or ἐποχή of his own. He tries to show that every system of philosophy involves in its first principles the elements of its own overthrow, and each in turn falls before his analysis. The only thing that remains amidst this universal refutation is the mere fact that we know,—the object matter of this knowledge is alike illusory and impossible, but the exercise of intelligence in our knowing is true. To use his own words, "we in fact, desisting from any attempt to establish the existence or the non-existence of the external world, are perfectly contented to rest all our weight on the one Brahma, identical with thought, established by its own evidence; but as for those who descend into the arena of controversy and desire by means of their own imagined arguments and refutations to discover and establish the actual truth of things, we can always maintain as against them, that their mode of procedure is fallacious, since it can always be confuted by the very principles that they lay down." And again "the only difference between us and the Saugatas (or Buddhists) is that they maintain that everything is inexplicable (*anirvachanīya*), while we maintain that everything is inexplicable except the mere fact of knowing." We are hardly likely, therefore, to be doing S'rí Harsha much injustice, if we



interpret his dialogue between the gods and the materialist as involving a deeper meaning than a mere episode in a romance; its issue was premeditated and his sympathies were with the aggressor. To him the contest was not one between truth and falsehood, but simply between equally balanced alternatives of doubt, and materialism in his eyes was only one of the manifold varieties of possible opinion which might equally serve to amuse the mind in life's weary playground. The true philosopher would look down on the busy scene, *endless* alike in aim and duration, from his ἀκαταληψία as from Lucretius' watch tower,

Despicere unde queas alios, passimque videre  
Errare atque viam palantes quærere vitæ.

How different from the creed of Plato, as he puts it in the mouth of Simmias, in the immortal dialogue with Socrates in prison,—“It seems to me, as perhaps it seems to thee, that to know the certainty of such matters in this life is impossible or at any rate most difficult; but he were the veriest craven who for all this would shrink from proving to the uttermost every opinion current among men, resolved never to desist until fairly worn out with exploring in every direction. For one at least of three things we ought to achieve,—either to learn from others where truth is to be found or, may be, to find it ourselves,—or else if this be impossible, then to take the best and least disputable of human opinions, and risking our fortunes thereon like him who commits himself to a raft, to sail across this life, unless one can embark on some surer vessel or some divine demonstration.”



*Vestiges of the Kings of Gwalior.*—By BĀBU RĀJENDRALĀLA  
MITRA.

Ordinarily, monumental history rectifies or completes written history. But in India, where oblivion has gloriously triumphed over all ancient records, making puzzles of Cyclopean erections, and turning old glories into dreams; where most of her sovereigns and great men live not in the pages of a Xenophon or a Thucydides, but in a few fanciful fables, rude coins, smouldering ruins, and blotted inscriptions; it has to establish a history and not to rectify it. Hence it is, that in India it has a value which is utterly unknown in other parts of the civilized world. It has already thrown valuable light upon the annals of many a prosperous reign; and much is yet expected of it. Our As'okas and Guptas live but in their inscriptions and coins, and our Scythians and Indo-Bactrians and Shah Kings have left to us their only vestiges in their mint-marks. Individual inscriptions and coins may not often yield matter of engrossing importance, but as most inscriptions of by-gone times, when only kings and princes and such like men could afford the luxury of recording inscriptions, contain something which in connexion with others may be of interest in elucidating the annals of the country, I trust, the following analyses and translations of some from the celebrated fortress of Gwalior, affording as they do the traces of a number of sovereigns, mostly unknown to Oriental scholars, will not be altogether unacceptable to the readers of the Journal. For fac-similies of these inscriptions, I am indebted to the Government Archæological Enquirer, Colonel Alexander Cunningham, who has been kind enough to place at my disposal, for publication, reduced copies of several of them in anticipation of a paper by him on the antiquities and history of Gwalior.

Pere Tieffenthaler in his description of Agra has given a long list\*

\* The list runs as follows:—

*Suite des Rajahs gentils de Gwalier, de la race de Cutchua.*

1. Le premier a été *Souradj sen*, qui changea son nom en celui de *Souradjpāl*, et batit la fameuse forteresse de *Gwalier*, l'an 332 de l'Ere Indienne appelé l'Ere de *Bikarmatschet*. Il la nomma *Gua-*

*lier* d'après un Hermite nommé *Gualipa*, qui le guérit de la lèpre avec l'eau tirée d'une fontaine (ou source) et qui l'anima et l'aida à construire cette forteresse. *Souradjpāl* la gouverna, ainsi que son district pendant, ... Ans. 36  
2. Son fils *Rescāl* lui succéda, mais ne gouverna qu'un, ... 1

of a race of kings, the first of whom Souradj Pál or S'urya Pála is said to have been the founder of the fort under notice. He built it in the year of Samvat 332 = A. C. 275, and dedicated it to his patron saint Gualipa. The story runs that this worthy had predicted that the race in question, the Kachvaha, would hold the place as long as they should retain the surname Pála, but that the first transgressor would forfeit the heritage and for ever. Accordingly the successors of

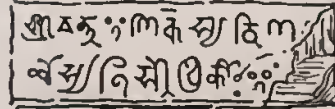
3. Ensuite le fils de celui-la	42. Sindboupál, ...	7
Narhalapál, ...	43. Mahespál, ...	9
4. Apres le precedent, Amar-	44. Ruddarpál, ...	13
pál, ...	45. Madanpál, ...	20
5. Bhimpál, ...	46. Adjepál, ...	14
6. Gangpál, fils du préc, ...	47. Sadhanpál, ...	20
7. Radjapál, de même, ...	48. Birlhadarpál, ...	13
8. Bodjpál, de même, ...	49. Candarpál, ...	21
9. Padampál, de même, ...	50. Sedjpál, ...	21
10. Anangpál, de même, ...	51. Dewenderpál, ...	25
11. Enderpál, ...	52. Ramtschand Issorpál, ...	30
12. Mahendarpál, ...	53. Houdpál, ...	6
13. Djenatpál, ...	54. Saroudjenpál, ...	9
14. Bassantpál, ...	55. Paroudjenpál, ...	2
15. Scheoupál, ...	56. Reskpál, ...	19
16. Dhandpál, ...	57. Anangpál, ...	7
17. Latschimipál, ...	58. Anantpál, ...	5
18. Lohendarpál, ...	59. Gadjpál, ...	7
19. Bhanderpál, fils du préc,	60. Zagdigpál, ...	30
fondateur de la forteresse et de la	61. Gangpál, mort sans enfans, ...	31
ville de Bhander, ...	62. Ramdewpál, ...	20
20. Adjepál, (Tous ceux qu'on	63. Bhoupál, ...	3
vient de nommer descendoient de	64. Hartschandpál, ...	17
Souradjpál,) ...	65. Birkhpál, ...	3
21. Adjepál succeda Assapál, ...	66. Tilekpál, ...	11
22. Sehspál, ...	67. Bedjepál, ...	9
23. Bhodjpál, ...	68. Dandherpál, ...	6
24. Bherounpál, ...	69. Nilcanthpál, ...	5
25. Cantpál, ...	70. Partab Rudderpál, ...	10
26. Tschandar Soukhpál, ...	71. Madhpál, ...	7
27. Goumnatpál, ...	72. Bhopál, ...	3
28. Nakesspál, ...	73. Assoupál, ...	30
29. Sagarpál, ...	74. Enderpál, ...	5
30. Madhpál, ...	75. Kerpál, ...	3
31. Amharpál, ...	76. Kāranpál, ...	16
32. Kantpál, ...	77. Agarpál, ...	0
33. Kirathpál, ...	78. Manpál, ...	3
34. Danipál, ...	79. Beschannpál, ...	21
35. Bhippál, ...	80. Sagarpál, ...	16
36. Hamirpál, ...	81. Ender Sehspál, ...	11
37. Tschatarpál, ...	82. Renpál, ...	1
38. Bhoundenderpál, ...	83. Houmarpál, ...	19
39. Hirpál, ...	84. Boudhpál, ...	27
40. Nakenderpál, ...	85. Tedjcaran, Fils de Boudh-	
41. Sindhpál, ...	pál, ...	0



1 पतिः पट्टीयं प्राकृतं जम्भुः नीलवर्णं केशं धारयन्तः ॥ २ ॥ ननु यथा यथा ॥ ३ ॥ वरिष्ठं च वेदं च ॥ ४ ॥ उदयगिरि  
 2 ॥ ५ ॥ ६ ॥ ७ ॥ ८ ॥ ९ ॥ १० ॥ ११ ॥ १२ ॥ १३ ॥ १४ ॥ १५ ॥ १६ ॥ १७ ॥ १८ ॥ १९ ॥ २० ॥ २१ ॥ २२ ॥ २३ ॥ २४ ॥ २५ ॥ २६ ॥ २७ ॥ २८ ॥ २९ ॥ ३० ॥ ३१ ॥ ३२ ॥ ३३ ॥ ३४ ॥ ३५ ॥ ३६ ॥ ३७ ॥ ३८ ॥ ३९ ॥ ४० ॥ ४१ ॥ ४२ ॥ ४३ ॥ ४४ ॥ ४५ ॥ ४६ ॥ ४७ ॥ ४८ ॥ ४९ ॥ ५० ॥ ५१ ॥ ५२ ॥ ५३ ॥ ५४ ॥ ५५ ॥ ५६ ॥ ५७ ॥ ५८ ॥ ५९ ॥ ६० ॥ ६१ ॥ ६२ ॥ ६३ ॥ ६४ ॥ ६५ ॥ ६६ ॥ ६७ ॥ ६८ ॥ ६९ ॥ ७० ॥ ७१ ॥ ७२ ॥ ७३ ॥ ७४ ॥ ७५ ॥ ७६ ॥ ७७ ॥ ७८ ॥ ७९ ॥ ८० ॥ ८१ ॥ ८२ ॥ ८३ ॥ ८४ ॥ ८५ ॥ ८६ ॥ ८७ ॥ ८८ ॥ ८९ ॥ ९० ॥ ९१ ॥ ९२ ॥ ९३ ॥ ९४ ॥ ९५ ॥ ९६ ॥ ९७ ॥ ९८ ॥ ९९ ॥ १०० ॥

N<sup>o</sup> III. Rock Pilaster. Gwalior.

N<sup>o</sup> II. Rock Tablet. Gwalior.  
near Lakshman - Paur.



N<sup>o</sup> V- Suhaniya.  
Pedestal of Jain figure.

ॐ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ १ ॥ २ ॥ ३ ॥ ४ ॥ ५ ॥ ६ ॥ ७ ॥ ८ ॥ ९ ॥ १० ॥ ११ ॥ १२ ॥ १३ ॥ १४ ॥ १५ ॥ १६ ॥ १७ ॥ १८ ॥ १९ ॥ २० ॥ २१ ॥ २२ ॥ २३ ॥ २४ ॥ २५ ॥ २६ ॥ २७ ॥ २८ ॥ २९ ॥ ३० ॥ ३१ ॥ ३२ ॥ ३३ ॥ ३४ ॥ ३५ ॥ ३६ ॥ ३७ ॥ ३८ ॥ ३९ ॥ ४० ॥ ४१ ॥ ४२ ॥ ४३ ॥ ४४ ॥ ४५ ॥ ४६ ॥ ४७ ॥ ४८ ॥ ४९ ॥ ५० ॥ ५१ ॥ ५२ ॥ ५३ ॥ ५४ ॥ ५५ ॥ ५६ ॥ ५७ ॥ ५८ ॥ ५९ ॥ ६० ॥ ६१ ॥ ६२ ॥ ६३ ॥ ६४ ॥ ६५ ॥ ६६ ॥ ६७ ॥ ६८ ॥ ६९ ॥ ७० ॥ ७१ ॥ ७२ ॥ ७३ ॥ ७४ ॥ ७५ ॥ ७६ ॥ ७७ ॥ ७८ ॥ ७९ ॥ ८० ॥ ८१ ॥ ८२ ॥ ८३ ॥ ८४ ॥ ८५ ॥ ८६ ॥ ८७ ॥ ८८ ॥ ८९ ॥ ९० ॥ ९१ ॥ ९२ ॥ ९३ ॥ ९४ ॥ ९५ ॥ ९६ ॥ ९७ ॥ ९८ ॥ ९९ ॥ १०० ॥

ॐ नमः ॥ १ ॥ २ ॥ ३ ॥ ४ ॥ ५ ॥ ६ ॥ ७ ॥ ८ ॥ ९ ॥ १० ॥ ११ ॥ १२ ॥ १३ ॥ १४ ॥ १५ ॥ १६ ॥ १७ ॥ १८ ॥ १९ ॥ २० ॥ २१ ॥ २२ ॥ २३ ॥ २४ ॥ २५ ॥ २६ ॥ २७ ॥ २८ ॥ २९ ॥ ३० ॥ ३१ ॥ ३२ ॥ ३३ ॥ ३४ ॥ ३५ ॥ ३६ ॥ ३७ ॥ ३८ ॥ ३९ ॥ ४० ॥ ४१ ॥ ४२ ॥ ४३ ॥ ४४ ॥ ४५ ॥ ४६ ॥ ४७ ॥ ४८ ॥ ४९ ॥ ५० ॥ ५१ ॥ ५२ ॥ ५३ ॥ ५४ ॥ ५५ ॥ ५६ ॥ ५७ ॥ ५८ ॥ ५९ ॥ ६० ॥ ६१ ॥ ६२ ॥ ६३ ॥ ६४ ॥ ६५ ॥ ६६ ॥ ६७ ॥ ६८ ॥ ६९ ॥ ७० ॥ ७१ ॥ ७२ ॥ ७३ ॥ ७४ ॥ ७५ ॥ ७६ ॥ ७७ ॥ ७८ ॥ ७९ ॥ ८० ॥ ८१ ॥ ८२ ॥ ८३ ॥ ८४ ॥ ८५ ॥ ८६ ॥ ८७ ॥ ८८ ॥ ८९ ॥ ९० ॥ ९१ ॥ ९२ ॥ ९३ ॥ ९४ ॥ ९५ ॥ ९६ ॥ ९७ ॥ ९८ ॥ ९९ ॥ १०० ॥

N<sup>o</sup> VI- Suhaniya.  
Pedestal of Jain figure.

ॐ नमः ॥ १ ॥ २ ॥ ३ ॥ ४ ॥ ५ ॥ ६ ॥ ७ ॥ ८ ॥ ९ ॥ १० ॥ ११ ॥ १२ ॥ १३ ॥ १४ ॥ १५ ॥ १६ ॥ १७ ॥ १८ ॥ १९ ॥ २० ॥ २१ ॥ २२ ॥ २३ ॥ २४ ॥ २५ ॥ २६ ॥ २७ ॥ २८ ॥ २९ ॥ ३० ॥ ३१ ॥ ३२ ॥ ३३ ॥ ३४ ॥ ३५ ॥ ३६ ॥ ३७ ॥ ३८ ॥ ३९ ॥ ४० ॥ ४१ ॥ ४२ ॥ ४३ ॥ ४४ ॥ ४५ ॥ ४६ ॥ ४७ ॥ ४८ ॥ ४९ ॥ ५० ॥ ५१ ॥ ५२ ॥ ५३ ॥ ५४ ॥ ५५ ॥ ५६ ॥ ५७ ॥ ५८ ॥ ५९ ॥ ६० ॥ ६१ ॥ ६२ ॥ ६३ ॥ ६४ ॥ ६५ ॥ ६६ ॥ ६७ ॥ ६८ ॥ ६९ ॥ ७० ॥ ७१ ॥ ७२ ॥ ७३ ॥ ७४ ॥ ७५ ॥ ७६ ॥ ७७ ॥ ७८ ॥ ७९ ॥ ८० ॥ ८१ ॥ ८२ ॥ ८३ ॥ ८४ ॥ ८५ ॥ ८६ ॥ ८७ ॥ ८८ ॥ ८९ ॥ ९० ॥ ९१ ॥ ९२ ॥ ९३ ॥ ९४ ॥ ९५ ॥ ९६ ॥ ९७ ॥ ९८ ॥ ९९ ॥ १०० ॥

two fifths of upper line lost — second line obliterated by a chisel.



S'urya uninterruptedly held the stronghold and the territory around it for several centuries, until at last a daring prince, in the person of the 85th descendant, Tejakarna, neglected the surname and lost the principality to the Pauvars of Amber. How far this fable is worthy of credit, it is scarcely worth while to enquire; never in the history of Indian principalities within the last two thousand years, has there been an instance of uninterrupted succession of 85 potentates of one race all enjoying the same patronymic; while certain it is that during the period which would belong to the Pálas, there were several kings of the Pramára and other races who exercised the powers of either immediate rulers or suzerains, over Gwalior. This fact would argue very strongly against the authenticity of Tieffenthaler's list; nevertheless we think it possible that a small principality with limited powers, sometimes independent and sometimes in vassalage, might exist for a long series of years in the same family. At any rate it will not be too much to assume, on the strength of the tradition which has borne paternity to the list, that the Kushites were the founders of Gwalior and that they did long exercise sovereignty within its precincts. No monument, however, has yet been found which records the name of any of the Pálas, as an immediate ruler of that place.

The earliest name that has been found in any inscription in connexion with Gwalior is that of Toramána, and next that of Pashupati his son. But both are put down for suzerains and not immediate rulers, and this is most probable as we find their names in connexion with Malwa, Guzerat and Káshmir, where the Pálas have had no control. The record which bears their name exists on a Vaishnavite temple in the fortress of Gwalior and is marked No. 1 (Plate I. fig. 1) in Colonel Cunningham's collection.

A translation of it has already been published in this Journal along with a conjecture of mine on the identity of the sovereigns named in it with two of the Gonerdyá Kings of Kashmir.\* How

\* Professor Fitz-Edward Hall, M. A., D. C. L., Inspector of Schools, Sagore Division, North-Western Provinces, has honored me with a patronising tap on the shoulders for this paper (Ante Vol. XXX. p. 383). He hails it "as an encouraging sign, that the natives of this country are beginning, here and there, to evince an intelligent interest in the history of their forefathers," although the paper is not the first of my contributions to the pages of this Journal. As in 1847, I had for some months had the honor of giving the learned Doctor lessons in Bengali, I feel very thankful to him for the kindness with which he notices me

far the opinion there hazarded is based on facts, it is not for me now to enquire ; I am glad, however, to perceive that Dr. Bháu Dájí of

after the lapse of so many years. He is even condescending enough to say "Consulting the Bábu's welfare I would, however, exhort him to the study of accuracy, and to an advised consideration in the choice of his premises." As a general maxim it will, I hope, prove widely useful. I receive his advice with a deep sense of gratitude, and promise always to bear it in mind. To shew that I have already benefited by it, I must, even at the risk of being tedious, adduce my premises for the errors in his reading of the Iran inscriptions to which I take exception. Dr. Hall has attributed most of them to the printers (Ante XXX. p. 149), but it is difficult to conceive how those scape-goats are to be responsible for the word *sansurata* which Dr. H. altered into *sansurabhu* without any authority. Again he commented upon the word पितरमनुजातस्य as "a hoary solecism in Sanserit books" and translated it, "who was the counterpart of his sire." Prinsep has "father's-talent-possessing," and Goldstücker explains the word अन्वजात in his Dictionary by "born like or with similar qualities as (another)." Next he translates स्वश्रष्टद्विजेतोः into the unmeaning "derived prosperity to his race," when he should have followed Prinsep and given "for the prosperity of his race." Regarding the elegant simile of a *king electing his wife like a maiden her husband*, the Doctor says, that as soon as he saw his paper in print, he amended it for his "private eye." Unfortunately, however, when some months after he prepared for the public eye his bulky errata it entirely escaped him, and as I happened not to have the faculty of ubiquitousness I could not benefit by the emendation. The dissyllable मान which Dr. Hall had overlooked in मानधन and I pointed out in a note to my paper on Toramána, is not a word of any moment, and would have called for no animadversion in connexion with ancient inscriptions where the decypherer has in most cases to grope completely in the dark, but when a critic, professedly the most microscopically exact, comes forward with the avowed object of correcting the errors of such a scholar as Prinsep, it is naturally expected that he should take some precaution to ensure accuracy, and not blunder even in those places where the unfortunate subject of his criticism happens to be correct. His dissertation on the uses of Sanskrita prefixes I shall notice on some future occasion. The subject is of importance and claims more consideration than can be devoted to it in the space of a foot note.

Since writing the above, I find the Doctor has once again come to the rescue of his *sansurabhu*. When he first suggested it as an improvement upon Prinsep's *sansurata* he stated (Ante Vol. XXX. p. 16) "STANDING BEFORE THE ORIGINALS, I COMPARED MY FACSIMILES LETTER BY LETTER WITH THOSE THAT HAVE BEEN LITHOGRAPHED; AND EVEN THE SLIGHTEST DISSIMILARITY OF THE COPIES WAS PATIENTLY TESTED BY THE PERISHING ARCHITYPES." In his first corrigenda, which he published some months after, he added, "It ought to have been remarked that what I read as *sansurabhu* is doubtful in its penultimate syllable and very doubtful in its final. If right render 'in which is the good land of the gods.'" (Ante Vol. XXX. p. 150.) When I expressed a doubt regarding its accuracy, the Doctor administered a severe rebuke to me for my presumption, stating "It goes with the Bábu for but little, I find, as contributing to induce credit in the trustworthiness of my version of the Iran inscriptions, that standing before the originals, I compared my facsimiles, letter by letter, with those that have been lithographed and even the slightest dissimilarity of the copies was patiently tested by the perishing archetypes. The lithographed copies were those of Prinsep." And yet at the same time he fell another step back and was quite undecided as to giving up his reading or abiding by it, for he said (Ante Vol. XXX. p. 387.) "I HAVE FAR FROM INTIMATED ANY CONFIDENCE IN THE CORRECTNESS OF MY READING ; and I

Bombay, in his paper on Kálidása,\* arguing on very different grounds, has come to the conclusion that the different Toramánas noticed in inscriptions are identical with the prince named in the Rájataranginí. The date he assigns to them is, however, a century later. This I am not at all surprised at. Dealing with a subject on which exact information is of course impossible, and where historical conclusions are of necessity to a great extent hypothetical it would be remarkable if at least some of my assertions were not met with opposition. The writer of a letter "on some recent statements touching certain of the Gupta Kings and others," adverting to my remark that the Toramána of Kashmir lived about the end of the fifth cen-

have no partiality for it whatever. The fact is simply that the original symbols looked to me, in the dilapidated condition in which I found them, rather like the constituents of *sansurabhu* than like anything else." And now to complete the renunciation, we have the learned gentleman in his last paper (ante p. 127) informing his readers, that when his paper in the Eran inscriptions was written, *he had only a facsimile before him and not the original*. This may appear very startling without proof, and I therefore quote his words. "For the second time I have just read the old inscriptions here, (Iran) in the column and on the gigantic stone boar. It has caused me no surprise to find, that my former decipherments of them admit of a few corrections." (No surprise indeed after the 'letter by letter' comparison!) "FOUR MONTHS AFTER MY FIRST VISIT TO ERAN WRITING UNDER THE GUIDANCE OF MY FACSIMILE COPY, (and not the original?) I said of what looked to me like *sansurabhu*, that it is doubtful in its penultimate syllable, and very doubtful in its final. Mr. Prinsep's lection is *sansuratam*. The result of a close re-examination of the word as it stands on the stone is this. The final syllable is clearly *tri*. The penultimate, judged by what is left of it in its damaged state, could not well have contained any consonant but *k* or *r*. The vowel, if it had one, may have been *á*, *e*, or *o* (Why omit the *i* and the *u*?) Possibly the word was *sansuratri*, and it may be a plausible theory, that it was the name of the country which had the Yamuná and the Narmadá for two of its boundaries. OR IS IT A REPETITION OF THE DATE, AN ABBREVIATION OF SAMVAT FOLLOWED BY THREE LITERAL SYMBOLS OF ARITHMETICAL VALUE? If I had access to Mr. Thomas' edition of Mr. Prinsep's Indian Antiquities, it might be easy to say, whether this last suggestion is of any account." So that what was given with so much positivity as *sansurabhu* now melts into three figures of arithmetic! If patient examination, letter by letter, lead to nothing better, I must hold myself excused for not at once pinning my faith to the new reading of the Gwalior inscription lately published by the Doctor, or joining with him in invoking "the shade of Sákataýana" to rescue myself from a misprint. I guessed the first word of the Gwalior record to be *jagati* from the *ti* which is alone visible, Dr. Hall would take it for *jayati*, and I gladly let him have his choice: but his conversion of my *jalada nilam* into *jalada khelam* is quite inadmissible. It is used as an adjective to *dhántam* 'darkness,' which may well be compared to "black clouds" *jalada nilam*, but not to "playful clouds" *jalada khelam*. The next alteration is *udayagiri* into *udayanaga* both meaning literally the mountain where the sun rises, but *udayanaga* has not the support of Indian usage. The *upadhmániya* is a printer's blunder, and my *mátápitustathá* is quite as correct as the suggested *mátápitrostathá*, the one being an *itaretara samása*, and the other a *samdhára*.

\* Journal, Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. VI. p. 220, et seq.

tury observes :\* “No attempt whatever has been made to set aside my implied assignment of him on the basis of an ascertained date to the first half of the second century, and the time of Budhagupta, on which his own depends, is hypothetically reckoned by the Bábu in an era which perhaps began in A. D. 278. The result is a difference of three hundred and thirty-five years.” The ascertained date to which the writer so emphatically appeals is contained in a foot-note to his paper on the Eran inscriptions, (Ante Vol. XXX. p. 15) in which he says ; “Since writing this paper I have had time before sending it to the press, to refer for a solution of the date in question, to my friend Bápu Deva S’ástrin, Professor of Mathematics in the Benares College. He apprises me in reply that it conforms to the era of Vikramáditya and does not conform to that of Sáliváhana. It is therefore, all but demonstrably certain that Budhagupta was reigning on Thursday, the 7th of June, in the year of our Lord one hundred and eight, new style. Toramána must have flourished shortly after him with something of likelihood indeed as his next successor.” Thus the basis is no other than the *ipse dixit* of Pandita Bápu Deva, opposed as it is to the deductions of Prinsep, Thomas, Cunningham, and other distinguished orientalists. I have the highest respect for the Pandita’s learning. But I know not how he can positively deduce from the data of the Eran document, that it was recorded in the era of Vikramáditya and of no other. The date there given is : “In the year 165, on the 12th day of the light fortnight of the month of Áshádha,” according to the revised decyphering published in the last volume of this Journal, and “165, the thirteenth day of the light fortnight, in the month of Áshádha” agreeably to Prinsep’s reading.† The facsimile published by Prinsep is in favour of his version, but the accuracy of that document has been questioned, and therefore until another facsimile is published, it is impossible to decide which of the two is the correct reading. And since the premise thus remains undecided, deductions founded upon it must necessarily be very dubious. Even were I to admit the date of the re-decyphering, I do not think it would follow, (I have not the leisure now to calculate,) that the 12th of the light fortnight in Áshádha on the meridian of Gwalior could be conjoined with a Thursday only on the 165th year of Vikramáditya, and on no other year.

\* Ante Vol. XXX. p. 387.

† Ante Vol. VII. p. 634.





[illegible]

Nº.XI. Teli Mandar. Gwalier Fort.

ॐ नमः शिवाय नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय  
नमो श्री कृष्णाय नमो श्री राधाय नमो

A. Cunningham.

श्री गुरुभ्यो नमः

Nº. XII न मीरु ८  
नगमीरु

*A. Cunningham.*

श्रीमकरदेवकसह

If it be so, still the question would occur, were the calculations of the almanac from which the date was taken, founded upon the meridian of Ujjayiní the best known of India ? or of Lanká ? or of Kanouj ? or of Gwalior ? and if the last, when was the moon's age reckoned ? at its beginning, the middle, or the end ? Without these data, no calculation can be so exact as to give us the era of a document from its date, much less to point out its correspondence with a foreign era with the circumstantiality of new styles and old styles. The testimony of Alberuni leaves no doubt as to the existence of an era of the Guptas, and *a priori* one would suppose that the era which would be current in the time of a Gupta sovereign would be that of his family. To controvert such an idea, it is necessary that we should have something more satisfactory than the ex-cathedra opinion of a single individual. Mr. Thomas and Col. Cunningham are still at issue as to the commencement of the Gupta era, and as long as that point remains unsettled and the date of the Toramána of Kashmir is not proved to be different, the conjecture regarding the identity of the several Toramánas of Eran, Gwalior, Kashmir, and, I may add, of the third Girnar inscription adjoining that of the bridge of Palásiní, will maintain its ground, and the date of that prince left to float between the middle of the 5th to the end of the 6th century. The several dates already assigned to Toramána are, 1st 87-3 B. C. by Professor Wilson, 2nd, 88-9 B. C. by Major Troyer, 3rd, 415 A. C. by Col. Cunningham, 4th, 110 to 120 A. C. by Mr. Hall, 5th, middle of the fifth century by myself, 6th, seventh century by Dr. Bháu Dájí.

Taking Toramána and his son to have been suzerains and the Pálas vassals or feudatories, we know not whether on the demise of the former, the latter assumed independent sovereignty or continued in subjugation to their neighbours ; but we find that in the third quarter of the 9th century, they were placed in subordination to a Bhoja Deva, who called himself a "paramount sovereign." His name occurs in an inscription marked No. 4\* on Col. Cunningham's plates, (pl. II. fig. 4,) and found

\* No. 2 though placed immediately after the record of Pashupati is apparently of a very modern date. It records the dedication of a temple to Srímad Ádivaráha or the Boar incarnation of Vishnu, and alludes to the Rámáyana. The characters of the record are slightly removed from the modern Devanágari, but its language is very corrupt, and so intermixed with provincial Hindui and Marhatti (?) as not to admit of a reliable translation.

No. 3 is similar in character to the above and being imperfect is not intelligible. The first line has the name of one Sri Chandra-inika, but who he was, the monument sayeth not.

in a temple of Vishnu at Gwalior. It is a record in prose, in the Kutila character of a somewhat peculiar type, of a grant of three small plots of arable land for a flower-garden, a *serai* or halting-place and a drinking fountain, as also of an edict for the supply of oil and flowers to certain temples. The donor's name is not apparent, and no genealogy is given of the sovereign during whose reign the ordinance was promulgated. The grants, says the record, were made in the year of Samvat 933 = A. C. 876 when the country was under the supremacy of a Lord Paramount Bhoja Deva, whose dominion extended to Turkastána which was governed by his Lieutenant Kottapála Malla or Kongapála Malla. Where this Turkastána was situated it is difficult to make out, although it is evident that it was a large province, and included several sub-divisions or cantons (*sabbiyákas*) having non-Sanskrit names. This would warrant the supposition that it was a Trans-Indian locality and situated somewhere in Baloochistan or Afghanistan. But judging from the fact that the river which is said to flow through it has a purely Indian name—*Vrischikálá*, and the temples of the place belong to the Hindu divinities Rudra, Rudrání, the nine Durgás, and Pushnásá, I feel disposed to think its *locale* was nearer home, probably by the *nulla* which flows by the foot of the hill close by the temple; certainly not quite so far as Delhi to the north, or the Aravalli to the west; the Rájás of Gwalior never having, to the best of our knowledge, held sway beyond those limits. The name of one of the gods, Pushnásá, is of doubtful origin. Pushan is a Vedic divinity and believed to be an ancient term for the sun, and also of the presiding deity of roads,\* but that word by no rule of grammar can become Pushnásá, and the query therefore is suggested as to what relationship it may bear to the Pushan of the Parsees. The names of some of the inhabitants are Hindu, while others have strange cognomens. Some names are partly Indian and partly foreign, such as Ba-illa Bhatta and Naka-illa Bhatta, in which while the latter member is decidedly Sanskrita, the *illa* has a strong Arabic leaning.† The standard of linear measure in the country was peculiar, and known as that of the Lord Paramount—*Párames'wara*. The quantitive measure of *droni* was also different, and peculiar to

\* Vide Wilson's *Rig Veda*, I. p. 115.

† The *illa* might be a Prákrita corruption of *valup*, but we have few instances of its use in Hindu proper names.

Gopagiri. The king flourished in Gwalior in the year 876 *i. e.* much more than a century before the great Bhoja of Dhára, predecessor of Udayáditya and the hero of the *Bhoja-prabandha*, and three centuries after the first (540) and two after the second Bhoja of Col. Tod (Jain MSS. 665). He was different too from the Bhojas of Bengal recorded by Tieffenthaler (Bernouli's *Description historique &c. de l'Inde*, Vol. I. p. ), and that of the Thaneswara inscription noticed by me (Journal Asiatic Society, Vol. XXII. p. 673). Almost every one of these Bhojas, called himself a "Lord Paramount," and the genealogy of several are wanting. It becomes, therefore, a matter of great concern, how superficial antiquarians jump into conclusions as to the date of any particular record from the mere name of Bhoja occurring in it. Judging from the date the sovereign under notice would appear to be one of the two Bhojas of Kanouj, whose supremacy is known to have extended to the S. W., considerably beyond the boundary of Agra, and Gwalior in their days was a part of that district. The date, however, is open to question. The first figure is peculiarly formed and may be taken for a 7, which would carry the prince to A. C. 676 (= S. 733) or within eleven years of the 2nd Bhoja of Col. Tod, with whom he may be taken to be identical.

For a long time after Bhoja, we know nothing of the history of Gwalior. According to Tieffenthaler, 71 princes of the house of Pála reigned for 860 years, at an average of 12 years per reign. If we allow at that rate, 168 years to the remaining 14 princes of his list whose reigns are not recorded, the era of the last would be brought to the beginning of the 14th century (1303)—but it appears from the inscriptions before us, that the supremacy of the Pálas had passed away in the middle of the 10th century, for we find Mahendra Chandra son of Mádhava on the throne of Gwalior in 958, and Vajradáma 20 years after him. Mahendra is noticed in an inscription, (Plate I. fig. 5,) recorded on the pedestal of a Jain figure at Suhaniya which was dedicated by him. His name, however, appears without the usual regal titles and his claim to royalty may therefore be questioned. The writing of the record is interrupted by Jain emblems. The last word is incorrectly given; it is evidently a corruption of *pratishthita*. It is dated Samvat 1013.

Vajradáma likewise appears on the pedestal of a Jain figure which was consecrated on the 5th of the waxing moon in the month of *Vais'ákha*,



Samvat 1034 = A. C. 977. The record (No. 6 of Col. Cunningham's plates) does not allude to the race of the sovereign, but we have that information in some detail in an inscription on an adjoining Jain temple. (Appendix, No. 7.) It is inscribed on two large slabs measuring 5'—2' by 1'—7" and 5'—6" by 1'—6" respectively, the number of lines being 21 on each. Col. Cunningham has not included this record in his plates, but he has favoured me with a facsimile of it. I have also a *Thent* Hindvi translation of it, which was prepared for the late Major Markham Kittoe. The original document is in Sanskrita, and comprises 110 stanzas in various metres, the characters being intermediate between the Kuṭila and the modern Devanāgarī. It opens with a salutation to Padmanātha and records the dedication of a temple to that divinity by a Mahārājā Mahipāla in the Samvat year 1149 = A. C. 1092. The document itself was composed or rather completed, for the whole of it could not be composed, on the 5th of the wane in the month of As'wina, 1150 = A. C. 1093. The composer of the deed was one Manikaṇṭha of the Bharadvāja gotra, and its writer Digambarārka. Its engraving needed the services of three artists, Padma son of Devaswāmi, Sinhavāja and Māhula.

The genealogy of the Rājā begins with one Kachchhapaghāta, a mighty sovereign "who was revered by innumerable princes," but of whose race and dominion, nothing seems to be known. Judging from his name "the destroyer" (ghāta) of the "Kachchhapa,"\* I imagine he was of Puar descendant and of the solar race. Col. Wilford in his essay on Vikramāditya and Śalivāhana† states that Gwalior, ancient Gopagiri, passed from the Pālas to the Puars, but he gives us no clue to the whereabouts of his authorities. According to Col. Tod‡ the descendants of Kusha son of Rāma first settled at Rhotas, whence after a time they spread under the name of Kachvahas or Kachchhapas to the West and the South. To the west they went as far as Amber where they established a flourishing principality, and checked the spread of their kinsmen, the descendants of Lava and the 36 Agnikula Rājputs. In their progress to the west, they had evidently taken Gwalior; for the 85 Pālas

\* In an inscription dated 1177, mention is made of a prince of Nalapura named Virasiṃha Deva, who was a "sun to the lilies in the lake of the happy Kachchhapaghāta lineage," and therefore of the race of the sovereign here named; the genealogy, however, not being given, it is difficult to ascertain the exact relationship he bore. *Journal American Oriental Society*, Vol. VI. p. 545.

† *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. IX. p. 513.

‡ *Rājasthān*, Vol. I. p. 336.



of that place are known to have been Kachvahas. I have no faith in the number 85, nor in the periods assigned to the different sovereigns in the list of Tieffenthaler, but it would not be too much to suppose that a long line of the Kushites did reign in Gwalior, and that our Kachehlapagháta was a conqueror of one of those Kachvahas, from which circumstance he assumed his distinctive name.

A descendant of this Kachehlapagháta was Lak'shmana. According to the panygerist of his race, he was a great king who rivalled the renowned Prithu of the Vedas by his extensive conquests; but they do not seem to have extended as far as Gwalior, for we read that his son Vajra-dáma was "the first who proclaimed his valour and his heroism by striking his kettledrum in the fortress of Gopagiri." This must have taken place a few years before 977 A. C. as we find him in that year well established in his conquered country and dedicating the Jain figure from which inscription No. 6 has been taken. Tradition has it that the Kachvahas were expelled from Gwalior by the Puars or Puriharas, and as we find Vajra-dáma the descendant of a destroyer of Kachvahas, the first who overcomes the old dynasty of the place, it will not be unreasonable to infer that he was a scion of the Puar race. Tieffenthaler supports the tradition regarding the aggression of the Puars, or *Panuvars* as he calls them, but his list of names does not correspond with that furnished by the inscriptions. According to his authority, the conquerors of the last Kushite Tejakarna was Ramdew who was after a reign of 19 years successively followed by Birmdew (7), Makherdew (13), Rettendew (11), Lavnakdew (15), Barsingdew (17), and Parmaldew (21); the seven taking up altogether a period of 103 years. It is scarcely necessary to add that these names are of little value against the positive testimony of the inscriptions under notice.

Vajra-dáma, according to our inscription, before entering into Gwalior, had subdued the king of Vindhyanagara. His son Mangala Rája, forsaking the Jainism of his father, offered his adorations to Vishnu, but he seems never to have achieved any political greatness. His successor Kírtirája, a prince of a warlike disposition, signalled himself in many a battle against his neighbours. Malwa was reduced by him to the rank of an appenage of Gwalior. In religion he was a Sivaite, and a temple to the Lord of Párvatí in the town of Siñhapániya still stands to attest the ardency of his

devotions. The family eneomiast accords to his son Bhuvanapála, the usual attributes of greatness, but has nothing specific to record of him besides his having had "a son of great beauty, unsurpassed by Karna in charity and the rival of Arjuna in archery." The name of this worthy was Devapála, who bequeathed the family sceptre to his son Padmapála. Several verses are devoted to record the glories and charities of Padma, his expedition to the South (Dekkan), his wars with demons (Rákshasas), and his dedication of temples to Brahmá, Vishṇu, Lakshmí and Nárasíṅha. He died childless, leaving his principality to Mahipála the son of his brother Suryapála. Nearly a third of the inscription is devoted to recount the glories of the last named sovereign. He rivalled all the gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon and surpassed every eminent object in nature to which a prurient imagination could hold him in comparison. During his reign a figure of Padmanátha—a Jain divinity—came suddenly into existence, and to it he dedicated the temple by the doorway of which the inscription under notice is recorded. He caused a range of rooms to be built around the temple for the use of the officiating priests, and cut flights of steps in the solid rock to decorate the whole. Assignments of land in the district of Brahmapura were made for the support of the temple, and a charity for feeding the poor, and a large number of jewels and gold and silver utensils were presented for the use of the idol. Among the donations, mention is made of some jewellery and utensils for the idols of Aniruddha, Bámaṇa and Vishṇu, but how this allusion to Hindu divinities came to be made in a Jain record, put up by the entrance of a Jain temple, it is difficult to divine. From Vajra-dáma to Mahipála the seven successive descendants of Lakshmaṇa oscillated between Hinduism and Jainism, but in Mahipála we find the same individual dividing his faith equally between the two adverse creeds.

The date of Vajra-dáma has been recorded at 977 A. C., that of Mahipála 1093 of the same era, giving 115 years for the seven, or an average of  $16\frac{2}{7}$  years for each reign. If the date of Vajra's accession and that of Mahipála's death could be ascertained, this average would be slightly increased; but as it is, it affords a close approximation to the average of Indian reigns ascertained by James Prinsep.

The successor of Mahipála was Bhuvanapála *alias* Manoratha, who is described as a Vaishṇava who resided at Mathurá and was a pro-

tector of Kāēsthās. His reign lasted for only a few years and he was succeeded by his son Madhusudana. The date of Madhusudana's accession is not known, but on the 6th of the waxing moon of Māgha, in the year of Vikramārka 1161 = A. C. 1104, *i. e.* within twelve years after the erection of Mahipāla's Jain temple, he dedicated a temple to Mahādeva and repaired a great number of the Hindu sacred edifices of Gwalior. His name and that of his father occur on a large tablet upwards of 6 feet in length on the Mahādeva temple. The record is, like the preceding, inscribed in characters intermediate between the Kuṭila and the modern Devanāgri. Owing to the loss of a portion from the left of the record, it is difficult to make out the context of the whole. (Appendix No. 8.)

We have no monumental record of the successors of Madhusudana for near a century. According to Tieffenthaler, Shamsuddīn, king of Delhi, wrested Gwalior from the Puars and made it over to the *Tannvariens*, a family of Rajputs who held it as governors for ten generations,\* to the time of Humāyūn. But this is opposed to the statement of Ferishta who says that Kuttabuddīn took the fortress in 1193 A. C. Whether the deposed king was a Kachchhapaghāta of Madhusudana's line, it is difficult to ascertain; for we find on Kuttab's death a Tomara prince defying his son Aram and subsequently acknowledging fealty to his brother-in-law Altemish in 1232 A. C. One of the Tomaras built the celebrated fortress of Tomaragarh or Tarāgarh, and others of the race distinguished themselves as valiant and able chieftains. They were probably the same with the Tannvariens of Tieffenthaler, but their names do not correspond with the roll of the learned Missionary. The oldest monumental names of the Tomaras are those of Saṅkarendra Deva and Nāga Siṅha. They occur in three short records from the Teli Mandir of Gwalior, which, though undated, we judge from the style of writing to belong to the end of the 13th century. The first name occurs twice (Plate II. figs. 11 and 13), and in both places is mis-spelt, and the second is twice written in the same inscription. (Fig. 12.) The names appear without the usual regal titles.

\* The names are I. Parmaldew; II. Adharandew brother of I. (5 years); III. Birandew son of I. (15 years); IV. Alhandew (15 years); V. Barsingdew (75 years); VI. Doungar Sen, (30 years); VII. Kirath Sing son of VI. (25 years); VIII. Kalian Sing son of VII. (28 years); IX. Mān, (50 years); X. Bikarmahschit (Vikramāditya ?) son of X. The reigns in some cases appear too long, but for vassals they are not altogether improbable.

The next name of the Tomaras which we have to notice is that of Bilanga Deva. It occurs in No. 15 of Colonel Cunningham's plates (iii) which bears date the 5th of the waxing moon in Māgha, Samvat 1467 = A. C. 1410. Tieffenthaler has a Viramdew, but he was three generations removed from Dungara. It is more probably therefore the same with his Barsingdew, who had a long reign of 75 years and was followed by Doungar Sen, for we find thirty years after Bilanga a Dungarendra Deva of whose reign there are three different inscriptions in Col. Cunningham's collection, dated respectively on Sunday the full moon, Sunday the 9th of the waxing moon, and Friday the 7th of the waxing moon, in Vais'ākha, Samvat 1497 = 1440 A. C. (Figs. 16, 17 and 18). The language used in these monuments is an obsolete patois unintelligible to me. The last of them records the dedication of a Jain figure by Kāla a high priest of the congregation of Ādijina. Two of the records bear the name of the Rājā who seems to have enjoyed a long and prosperous reign. He is described as "the supreme lord of great kings" in an inscription on the foot of a figure of Mahāvira\* which is date the 8th of the waxing moon in the month of Māgha, Samvat 1510 = 1453 A. C. His name likewise appears on a pillar of victory at Narwar which was erected by one of his descendants Syam Shāhi (Plate IV.), as also in the Rohtas inscription on the Kothoutiya gate of the old fort at that place.† The Narwar Pillar records the names of probably thirteen princes, but they are not all intelligible, owing partly to efacement of the engraving and partly to the document being in an obscure patois, a mixture of Sanskrita and obsolete Hindvi. They correspond, however, so closely with the names on the Rohtas monument, that I have no hesitation in taking them to refer to the same dynasty, and of correcting the reading of one by the other. The first name on the pillar is Vira Siṅha, (I.) which occurs likewise at Rohtas. The second name on the pillar is illegible, and in its place at Rohtas we have Uddharaṇa, (II.) who is followed in both records by Ganapati Deva (III.) whose successor according to the Rohtas record was Hungara Siṅha (IV.) and according to the Narwar pillar Dungara Siṅha, both evidently identical with the Dungarendra of the inscriptions 17, 18 and 19; the difference in the initial being due

\* In an inscription in the collection of the late Major Kittoe, No. 34, vide Appendix No. 19.

† Ante Vol. VIII. p. 693.





प्रा० सरस्वती संकाला॥ प्रा० सारा

श्रीआदिनाथाय नमः॥ संवत् १४७१ वर्षे वै साष ३ शुक्ले पुनर्वसु नक्षत्रे श्रीगोपावलदुर्गे  
महाराजाधिगजराजा श्री उमेश्वरी सप्ततमानो श्रीकाशासंख्येमाधुरावद्योपुष्पा

गणभद्रकश्री  
गणकीर्तिदेवत  
सद्वैद्यः कीर्ति  
देवाप्रतिष्ठाचार्य  
श्रीपंडितरघुतेपां  
आभायेअथातव  
मेमोदुलगात्रासा॥  
धुरात्तातस्यपुत्रसा  
युतोपातस्यभाय  
नाली।पुत्रपप्रथ  
मसाधुहैमसी।दु  
तीयसाधुमहाराजो  
वृतीयअसराबृच  
तुर्थधनपालापंव  
मसाधुपाल्हा।सा  
धुहैमसी।आयी  
नोराटेवीपुत्र  
खड्यपुत्र

N<sup>o</sup> XVI.  
Colossal Figure.  
Chaitnâth  
Suhaniya

६॥ सिधि।  
 अतु  
 १४६७८९  
 वैसवस्तुदि  
 १५ दिनामौ  
 श्रमदा वे  
 रामठाका  
 ब्रह्माता स  
 नक्षत्रानां  
 मीडादिअष्ट  
 कुठा ॥ ॥ ॥  
 औख काल  
 सुनपुनिता  
 मुठ ॥ ८ व

N<sup>o</sup> XV. *Ambikâ Devi-Sahaniya*

ॐ ॥ सिधेः संवत् १४६१ वर्षे मार्गशुद्धि ५ सोदैनं ॥  
 ॥ महानाडासिनाश्रीवीरगवेषः । श्रीडीयि ॥  
 ॥ कौमोभवकनवाभोः ॥ प्रथम ४५५५ ॥  
 ॥ नः दुःखदुःखानां ॥ ५५५५ ॥ सुखयानान  
 ॥ वासुः ॥ माछपेतिना ॥ ५५५५ ॥ ००

*N<sup>o</sup> XVII. Great Temple . Suhaniya . on Pillars*

ॐ विष्णु सप्तसप्त ॥ १ ॥  
 ५ सिद्धि सवत् १४८९  
 वेसाधु टीवी श्रीडिंगरे  
 बृषः साधनी पुत्र स  
 द्याट्शुकल न ल  
 प्रवाढवा सूवा  
 ककलपुत्रदेष ॥ ३ ॥  
 ऐ ॥ ५

श्रीपतिनाम  
स्तुतिः ॥

धाधिपतिकोला॥ 21  
 मम्यसायावजेष्ट 22  
 श्रीमरसु तीपु 23  
 त्रमल्लि दासदुती 24  
 यजार्थी साधीस 25  
 रापुत्रचद्रपाल 26  
 कमसी पुत्रदुती 27  
 यमाधुश्रीभोजा 28  
 राजाभायीदेवद 29  
 पुत्रपूजपाला 30  
 एतेषां तथे श्री॥ 31  
 त्यादिदिनमथा 32  
 निपतिकीलास 33  
 दाप्रणमति॥ 34

## शुद्ध का पालागन्ध









to mislection. The follower of Dungara, according to the Rohtas record, was Kirti Siñha (V.) whose counterpart at Narwar is illegible, but there are traces of two names. Again in the Narwar pillar the successor of Kirti Siñha is Kalyána Malla who in the Rohtas record appears with the mongrel title of Kalyána Sháhi, (VI.). The next names at Rohtas are successively, Máná Sháha (VII.), Vikrama Sháha (VIII.), Ráma Sháha (IX.), Saliváhana (X.), Syáma Sháhi (XI.), and Viramitra Sena (XII.) ; of whom the 8th and the 10th appear doubtful on the Narwar Pillar. The last two were brothers and contemporary of Jalaluddín of Delhi who designated them "the unique heroes." The Rohtas inscription is dated Samvat 1688 = A. C. 1631, which gives a period of one hundred and sixty years for the eight successors of Dungarendra who reigned in 1453 A. C. How many of Dungara's successors were independent, the family chronicler sayeth not, but we find from the Mohammedan historians that the Hindus surrendered Gwalior to the forces of the Emperor Ibrahim in 1519 A. C., probably at the time of Ráma Sháhi, and in 1543, it was taken from the troops of the Emperor Humáyún by Sher Khan, his successful competitor for the empire of India. We may fairly drop, therefore, all notice of the feudatories and vassals who succeeded to the throne of Gwalior after the middle of the 16th century.

To summarise ; according to the rolls of Tieffenthaler we have three dynasties of Hindu princes in Gwalior from 275 to the time of Humáyún. The first was named Kachvaha ; it included 85 princes and an aggregate reign of 1028 years from 275 to 1303. It was followed by the Puars, seven of whom took up 103 years and then by the Tannvariens, ten of whom spread over about 250\* years. Of these the first has no mention in the records under notice. The oldest names traceable are first Toramána and then his son Pashupati of the 6th century ; next after a large gap a Lord Paramount Bhoja either in the year 676 or 876 ; then after a time we have seven reigns of a race of Puars from 977 to 1104 ; subsequently a Sankarendra and a Naga Siñha without date, then Bilanga Deva in 1410, and lastly the dynasty of Dungarendra Deva including twelve princes. The names may be thus tabulated :

6th century.	Toramána,	} suzerains.
	Pashupati,	

\* For eight reigns Tieffenthaler gives 242 years.

A. C. 676 or 876. Bhoja Deva, suzerain.

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„ 958. Mahendrachandra, son of Mádhava (King ?)

---

„ 978. Vajradáma, son of Lakshmaṇa of the family of Kachchhapagháta, King.

Mangalarāja.

Kírtirāja.

Bhuvanapála.

Devapála.

Padmapála.

„ 1093. Mahipála.

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Bhuvanapála *alias* Munoratha.

„ 1104. Madhusudana.

---

Saṅkarendra. (King ?)

---

Nágasiṅha. (King ?)

---

„ 1410. Bilanga Deva.

---

Vira Siṅha.

Uddharāṇa Deva.

Ganapati Deva.

„ 1440—1453. Dungarendra Deva.

Kírti Siṅha.

Kalyána Malla (Sháhi).

Mána Sháhi.

Vikrama Sháhi.

Ráma Sháhi.

S'aliváhana.

Syáma Sháhi.

„ 1631. Viramitra Sena.

Coins of most of these princes are still extant, and Col. Cunningham has now in hand a plate which will afford to the readers of the Journal, specimens of a great number of them.



## APPENDIX.

*Sanskrita Inscriptions alluded to above.*

No. 1. Already translated and published, (ante Vol. XXX. p. 275.)

No. 2. Rock Tablet near Lakshman Puar. Not intelligible.

No. 3. Rock Pilaster, Gwalior.

श्रीचन्द्रइतिकस्यविण \*

र्वस्यतिर्सीधेर्का \* \* \*

No. 4. Inside rock-cut temple, Fort of Gwalior.

Transcript.

- (१) ॐ नमो विणवे । सम्बत्सरशतेषु नवसु त्रयस्त्रिंशदधिकषु\* मात्र-  
शुक्लद्वितीयाया सं ६३३† माघसुदि २ मद्येह श्रीगोपगिरी-  
श्वरमिह
- (२) परमेश्वरश्रीभोजदेवतदधिष्ठितकोटपालमल्लबलाधिष्ठिततुर्कस्था-  
नाधिष्ठितश्रेष्ठिविव्रियकइच्छुवाकसार्धवाहप्रमुखसव्विया-
- (३) कानां पारे । समस्तस्थाने नकइल्लभट्टसुतरल्लकारितदृष्टिका-  
लानदीपरकूले रुद्ररुद्राणोपूष्णाशादिनवदुर्गायतना-
- (४) यस्वभुज्यमावूयपल्लिकाग्रामप्रतिवद्धभूमिगुणं दैर्घ्येण पारमेश्व-  
रीयहस्तशतद्वयसप्तत्यधिकं हस्त २७० विस्तारेण
- (५) हस्तशतमेकं सप्ताशीत्यधिकं हस्त १८७ पुष्पवाटिकार्थं पुण्येहनि  
प्रदत्तं तथाऽनेनैव स्थानेनास्मिन्नेव सम्बत्सरे.‡
- (६) फाल्गुनबज्जलपक्षप्रतिपदि श्रीभोजदेवप्रतोत्यवतारे मल्लेनैव  
कारितः§ वाइल्लभट्टश्चास्योदपानधिष्ण्यायतनाय तथो-
- (७) परिलिखितनवदुर्गायतनाय च पूजासंस्कारार्थं स्वभुज्यमानजय-  
पुराकग्रामे व्याघ्रकर्णिकाभिधान[हानमूलाकयं]]
- (८) सद्गदाकसुतदल्लकवाहितक्षेत्रं तथास्यैव क्षेत्रस्योत्तरतः क्षत्रि-  
यदेववर्त्मसुतमेसारकवाहितक्षेत्रं च ययोर्गोपगिरीयमा-
- (९) प्येनावपो यवानां द्रोण्य एकादश तयोर्द्वयोरपि क्षेत्रयोराघाटः  
पूर्वेण नइदाकवाहितक्षेत्रं दक्षिणेन पाहादन्न

\* अधिकेषु recte.

† The first figure may be 7, Vide ante p. 399.

‡ The word संवत्सर here, at the beginning of the record and in the 11th line, is written incorrectly. The v has been made to coalesce with the preceding anuswara in the same way as if it were a b.

§ कारितं recte.

|| The letters within the brackets are unintelligible.

- (१०) पश्चिमेन दक्षकवाहितक्षेत्रे पादपाः ततोमम्माकवाहितक्षेत्रं  
उत्तराभिमुखवाहकः \*क्षेत्रं परिधिस्तु गतः उत्तरेण वर्त्म-
- (११) लघुपाटिका च एवं चतुराघाटविशुद्धं क्षेत्रद्वयं पुण्येहनि प्र-  
दत्तं । तथास्मिन्नेव सम्वत्सरे फाल्गुनवज्जलपक्षनवम्यां-
- (१२) उपरिलिखितदेवकुलाभ्यां द्वाभ्यामपि दीयते त्मार्थं† श्रीसर्व-  
श्वरपुरनिवासितेलिकमहन्तकभोच्चाकसुतसर्वस्वाक तथा मा-  
धव-
- (१३) सुत-ज्यशक्ति तथा शिवधरिसुत-साज्जल तथा गंगाकसुत-गंगी-  
क । तथा ओवत्सखामिपुरनिवासि तेलिकमह-
- (१४) न्तककुण्ठकसुत सिंघाक तथा वल्लवसुत-खाहदाक तथा चच्चि-  
काहटिका निंवादिद्यहट्टिकयोर्निवासि तेलिकम-
- (१५) हन्तक देउवाकसुत-जज्जट तथा वच्छल्लकसुत गागाक तथा  
ददकसुत जम्बक तथा सद्रटासुत जम्बहरि । एवमादि-
- (१६) समस्ततेलिकश्रेण्या प्रतिकोल्हकं मासि मासि शुक्लनवम्यां शुक्ल-  
नवम्यां तैलपलिका पलिका दातयेत्यक्षयनी
- (१७) मया प्रदत्ता ॥ तथाद्यैवामृभ्यामेव देवकुलाभ्यां श्रीगोपगिरित-  
लोपरिनिवासिमालिकमहरगादुल्लसुत टिक्कक
- (१८) तथा देहकसुतज्यसेक तथा वज्जलाकसुत सिद्धक तथा जम्बाक-  
सुत सहदाक तथा दन्तिसुत दुर्गधरि तथा ननमाकेय-
- (१९) — मक तथा — — — — — एवमादिसमस्तमा-  
लिकश्रेण्यापूजार्थं — — — — — कालापयिकहभट्टसुयामा—
- (२०) ल्यापाण — — पण — — — — प्रतिदिनं दातयेत्यक्ष-  
यनामिका प्रदत्ता । एतदुपरिलिखित— — — — —
- (२१) तस्यानादिभिस्तदक्षयायाचन्द्रार्कक्षितिकालं प्रदत्तं परि— —  
— कैरपिनकर्त्तव्या — तथा, स्वदत्तांपरदत्तां वा यो
- २२) हरेतवसुन्धरां । सविष्टायांकृमिर्भूत्वा बन्धुभिस्सहमोदते । वज्ज-  
भिर्व्वसुधाभुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य
- (२३) यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥ \* ॥
- (२४) — — — — —
- (२५) — — — — —

\* The visarga after वाहकः is wrong.

† त्मार्थं for आत्मार्यं ।

## Translation.

Om ? salutation to Vishnu ! In the Samvat year nine hundred plus thirty-three, on the 2nd day\* of the waxing moon, in Māgha (in figures) S 933, Māgha 2 Sudi.

To-day, this to the auspicious Lord of Gopagiri (Gapagirisvara)\*\* under the supremacy of the Lord paramount S'ri Bhoja Deva, and subject to the rule of Kōṭṭa-pāla Malla, within the jurisdiction of Turkasthāna, beyond the cantons (sabbīyākas)† Sreshṭhi Babbīyāka,‡ I-chehhuvāka, Sārthavāha, and others, on the opposite bank of the Vrischikālā river (canal ?) which was made (excavated)§ by Ralla son of Nakaila Bhaṭṭa, within the village of Abuya|| Pallika, which is in my possession, a spot of ground, measuring in length 270 cubits of the Lord paramount (Pārameswara)¶ and in breadth 187, is presented on a fortunate day for the purpose of a flower garden for the temple of Rudra, Rudrānī, Pushnāsā &c. as also of the nine Durgās. Further along with this place, on the 1st day of the waxing moon, in the month of Phālguna of the current year, on the side of S'ri Bhoja Deva Highway, made by Malla\* as also Bailla Bhaṭṭa, within the village of Jayapurāka, which is in my possession, the field which passes in the name† of Dallaka son of Sadgadāka\*\*\*\*\*‡ and named Vyāghrakarnikā, as also the field which passes in the name of Mesāraka the son

\* The case affix of *dvitīyāyām* is carried over the date in figures to the beginning of the word "Adycha."

† A non-sanskrita term apparently something like our Bengal *Zillah* or *Purgunnah*. A district to the north-west of Gwalior has the name of Sabalyook.

‡ Sreshṭhi at first sight would appear to be the title of a banker, the Sett of our days, but here it is so placed that grammatically it cannot but stand for the name of a place.

§ A river cannot be said to have been made by anybody, and yet the word *Rallakārīta* "made by Ralla" is so placed that it cannot but be taken as a predicate of the river, the name of which immediately follows it; thus *Rallakārīta vrischikālā nadīpara-kule*. I take the word for a canal which was probably the origin of the *Subarnarikshā* or the nulla at the foot of the hills.

|| The *bs* and *vs* are written alike, I am not certain therefore whether the name should be Abuya or Avuya.

¶ This evidently refers to Bhoja, it may therefore be assumed that he had a special standard of linear measure.

\* The subject and its predicate do not agree; the former is in the locative case, and the latter *mallenaivakārīta* "made by Malla" is joined to the following word Bailla Bhaṭṭa by the conjunction *cha*. *Kārīta* was probably written *Kārīte* which would make it correspond with *avatāre*, but I know not what to make of the nominative Bailla Bhaṭṭa.

† The word is *vāhita*, which I believe is equivalent to the modern form of the "jot (holding) of so and so."

‡ Here six syllables are unintelligible. The letters appear to be distinct, but they convey no sense.

of Kshatriya Devavarmá, which is situated to the north of the field first mentioned, and which two together require for cultivation eleven *dronis*\* of barley according to the measure of Gapagiri, and have the following for their boundary viz. To the east the field which passes in the name of Naidáka to the south Páhádanna,† to the west the trees in the field which passes in the name of Dallaka, as also the field which passes in the name of Mammáka. To the north the field of Váhaka and a road across, as also Laghupáhátiká;—these two fields thus bounded on the four sides, are presented on an auspicious day for the purpose of establishing a drinking fountain and a place of rest, as also for supplying offerings for use in the aforesaid temple of nine Durgás. Further on the 9th day of the waxing moon in the month of Phálguna of the current year, I ordained that for the two classes of gods aforesaid and for (the good of) my soul, all the oil merchants beginning with the following should, month by month on the 9th day of every waxing moon, allow for every oil press‡ a palá§ full of oil.

(The names are) Sarveswara son of Bhoohcháka the head oil merchant of Sri Sarveswara-pura! next Jayasacti son of Mádhava, next Sáhulla son of Sivadhari, next Gaggika son of Gaggáka, next Singháka son of Kunuka the head oil merchant of S'ri Vatsaswámipura, next Khahadáka son of Ballava, next Jajjāta son of Deūvāka the head oil merchant of Chachehiká and Nimbáditya market places, Gaggáka son of Bachehhilláka, next Jambaka son of Daddraka, next Jambahari son of Sadratá\*\*\*\*\*.

(A similar ordination is made for the daily supply of flowers, &c. and the deed closes with the usual imprecations against the reemption of grants by the successors of the donor, but this part of the deed is so full of lacunæ that it cannot be translated.)

No. 5. From the Pedestal of a Jain Figure at Suhaniya.

संवत् १०१३ माघवसुतेन महिन्द्रचन्द्रकेनकभा(खि?)दिता

\* A common *droni* measures 128 seers, or 256lb. avoirdupois; the Gopagri standard was probably different.

† What this Páhádanna is, I cannot make out.

‡ The word is *Koluka*, which I believe is the archetype of the modern Hindi *Kolu* "an oil press;" it does not occur in any Sanskrit dictionary.

§ The weight of a *palá* differs from 3 tolás 3 máshás and 8 raties to eight tolás. A *palá* of gold or silver weighs 4 *Kárs'hás* or tolás.

No. 6. Also from the Pedestal of a Jain Figure at Suhaniya.

सम्मतः । १०३४ श्रीवज्रदाममहाराजाधिराज वइसाखवदिपा-  
चमि \* \* \*

On the 5th of the wane in the month of Vais'ákha, Samvat 1034.  
Maharāja-dhirāja Vajradāma (rest not legible).

No. 7. From the Great Jain Temple in the Fort of Gwalior.

*Transcript of the left half.*

- (1) ॐ नमः पद्मनाथाय । हर्षात्फुल्लविलोचनैर्दिशि दिशि प्रो-  
द्गीयमानं जनैर्मैदिन्यां विततन्ततोहरिहरब्रह्मास्पदानि क्रमात् ।  
श्वेतीकृत्य यदात्मना परिणतं श्रीपद्मभूभृद्यशः पायादेष जग-  
न्ति निर्मलवपुः श्वेतानि रूद्रश्चिरम् ॥ (१) ॥ मौलिन्यस्तमहानी-  
लशकलः पातु वोहरिः । दर्शयन्निव केशस्थनवजीमूतकर्ण-  
काम् ॥ (२) ॥ मुक्ताशैलच्छलेन क्षितिति-
- (2) लकयशोराशिना निर्मितोऽयन्देवः पायादुघायाः पतिरति-  
धवलखच्छकान्तिर्जगन्ति । मन्वानः सर्वथैव त्रिभुवनविदितं  
श्यामतापङ्गवं यः शङ्खं खं वर्णचिह्नं मुकुटतटमिलनीलकान्त्या  
विभर्त्ति ॥ (३) ॥ इदं मौलिन्यस्तं न भवति महानीलशकलं नमुक्ता-  
शैलेन स्फुरति घटितस्रैष
- (3) भगवान् । उघाकर्षोत्तंसीकरणसुभगं नीलनलिनं वदत्यद्याप्य-  
स्याश्चिरविरहपाण्डूकृततनुः ॥ (४) ॥ आसीदीर्यलघूकृतेन्द्रतनयो  
निःशेषभूमीभृतां वन्द्यः कच्छपघातवंशतिलकः क्षोणीपतिर्ल-  
क्ष्मणः । यः कोदण्डधरः प्रजाहितकरश्चक्रे स्वचित्तानुगाङ्गामेकः  
पृथुवत्पृथूनपिहठादुत्पाद्य पृथ्वीभृतः ॥ (५) ॥ तस्माद्वज्रधरोपमः  
क्षिति-
- (4) पतिः श्रीवज्रदामाभवद्दुर्वारोर्जितबाहुदण्डविजिते गोपाद्रिदु-  
र्गे युवा । निर्याजमपरिभूय वैरिनगराधीशप्रतापोदयं यद्वीरव्र-  
तसूचकः समभवत्प्रोद्घोषणाडिंडिमः ॥ (६) ॥ न तुलितः किलकेनचि-  
दप्यभूजगति भूमिभृतेतिकुतूहलात् । तुलयतिस्त्र तुलापुरुषः  
स्वयं खमिह वर्णं विशुद्धहरण्यैः ॥ (७) ॥ ततोऽरिपुष्वान्तसहस्र-  
धामा नृपोभव-
- (5) नृङ्गलराजनामा । यज्ञेश्वरैकप्रणतिप्रभावान्महेश्वराणामग्रतः  
सहस्रैः ॥ (८) ॥ श्रीकीर्तिराजानृपतिस्ततोभूयस्य प्रयाणेषु चमू-  
समुत्थैः । धूलीवितानैः सममेव चित्रं मित्रस्य वैवर्ण्यमभूद्विषञ्च ॥



॥ (६) ॥ किं ब्रूमोस्य कथामृतं नरपतेरेतेन शौर्याब्धिना धत्ते मा-  
लवभूमिपस्य समरे सङ्ग्रामतीतोर्जितः । यस्मिन् रङ्गमुपागते  
दिशि दिशि चासा-

(6) त्वराग्रच्युतैर्ग्रामीणाः स्वगृहाणि कुन्दनिकरैः सञ्छादयाञ्चक्रिरे ॥  
॥ (१०) ॥ अद्भुतः सिंहपानीयनगरे येन कारितः । कीर्त्तिस्तम्भ-  
इवाभाति प्रासादः पार्वतीपतेः ॥ (११) ॥ तस्मादजायतमहामति-  
मूलदेवः पृथ्वीपतिर्भुवनपाल इति प्रसिद्धः । श्रीनन्ददण्डगद-  
निन्दितचक्रवर्त्तिचिह्नैरलंकृततनुर्मनुतुल्यकीर्त्तिः ॥ (१२) ॥ यस्य  
ध्वत्तारिभूपालां सर्वाम्पालयतः

(7) प्रभोः । भुवनैलोक्यमल्लस्य निःसपत्नमभूजगत् ॥ (१३) ॥ पत्नी देव-  
व्रता तस्य हरेर्लक्ष्मीरिवाभवत् । तस्यां श्रीदेवपालोभूतनयस्तस्य  
भूपतेः । दानेन कर्णमजयत्पार्थं कोदण्डविद्यया । धर्मराजश्च  
सत्येन स युवा विनयाश्रयः ॥ (१४) ॥ सूनुस्तस्य विशुद्धबुद्धिविभवः  
पुण्यैः प्रजानामभून्मान्यातेव स चक्रवर्त्तितिलकः श्रीपद्मपालः  
प्रभुः ॥ यत्स्वाम्येपिक-

(8) रघुवृत्तिरपरस्तेतिव यश्चिन्तयन्दिग्यात्रासु मुहुः खरांशुमखणं सां-  
द्रैश्चमूरेणुभिः ॥ (१५) ॥ कृत्वान्याः स्ववशे दिशः क्रमवशात् क्षापति-  
र्दक्षिणानुत्क्षिप्ताचलसन्निभानविरत — — — वाजिब्रजैः ।  
उद्धतान्पततः प — — — — — : संप्रेक्ष्यरेणूत्करान्  
भूयोप्युद्धृतसेतुबन्धनधिया चस्यन्ति — — — ॥ (१६) ॥ तस्येन्दु-  
द्युतिसुन्दरेण यशसा नाके सुराणांगणे सौवर्ण्यभ्रमशीलखण्डन-

(9) भयादप्राप्तवत्यः प्रियान् । नूनं शक्रपुरः सुरासुरबधूस्त्रिधाः श्रिये  
साम्प्रतं — — — — — यन्ति ये प्रथमतः सर्वा  
वपुःसंश्रिते ॥ कैर्दृष्टा — — — — —  
— — — — — पादपां गावः कामदुघा — — — — —  
— — — — — कैश्चिन्तितार्थप्रदाः । पूर्णाः क  
स्य मनोरथा इह न कैः — — — — — मुना पूरिता  
वीरो यानि तदस्ति तद्गुणवतः कस्यद्रुमादीन्यपि । श्रुत्वा न पद्म  
नृपतिं प-

(10) रिरक्षितारं प्राप्तेदयोपि यदसौ वत नम्रभावः ।  
योद्यापि — — — — — तनुर्विपिनेष्यशो — — — — —  
— — — — — ॥ भ्रमः कुलाल-  
चक्रे च लाभः पुण्यार्जनेषु च । काठिन्यं

कुम्भेषु क — — — — शासविमर्दिनीम् ॥ असम्मतो  
— — — — — पीडासाधुर्ननिस्त्रिंसपरि  
— तोपि । इ — — — ललनेन धनुर्नचासिं तथापि  
यावैरिगणं जिगाय । सद्य—

- (11) — — — — — — — — — — पाधिप  
शिरामणिंभि — — — — — । लोकानुरागयशसापि  
— — — — — व्रतापं विस्तारयां यदसि — — — — ॥  
वलयानीव नारीणां हिमानीव नभश्चियः ।

सविमृश्य नदीपूरचत्वरे सम्पदायुषः । पूर्तधर्मे मतिं चक्रे  
जिघृक्षुरनयोः फलम् ॥ प्रजा — — त्वते

- (12) न क्षितितिलकभूतं नभवनं — — — — —  
— — — — — कारितमदः । — — — — —  
— — — — — मिव गिरा यस्य शिखरं समारूढसिंहे  
मृगमिव नृ — — मणितुम् ॥ — — — — —  
सञ्च — — वरशिखरस्पर्दिनोहिममण्ड — — — त्याव  
तीयं शशिकरधवला वैजयन्ती पतन्ती । निर्व्यातं भाति भूति-  
चक्षुरितनिजतनोर्देवदेवस्य शम्भोः खर्गाङ्गैव पिङ्गस्तुटवि-

- (13) कटजटाजूटमध्यं विशन्ती ॥ तदेतद्द्रुक्षाण्डं सइह भविता पङ्क-  
जभुवः पुनर्वयम्बोढास्त्रो वयमिह — — वियति — — । — — —  
— तदिदमुररीकृत्य सकलं ध्रुवं संसेवन्ते हरिपदन — — —  
तममी ॥ — — — — — — — — — कनकाचलः शुभ  
विद्यावन्तःस्थितः श्रीपतिर्विभाणो द्विजसत्तमानुदधिजावासे  
नृसिंहान्वितः । निर्म्माता खट्वतः समस्तविवुधैर्लब्धप्रतिष्ठैरयं  
प्राप्नोदञ्च

- (14) धरातलेसममहो कल्पं हरेःकल्पताम् । — — — — —  
द्विजपुंगवेषु प्रतिष्ठितेष्वयसु पद्मपालः । युवैवदैवप्रतिकूलभावा  
— — — — — — — — — — वभूव ॥ तस्य भ्राता नृपतिरभव-  
त्सूर्यपालस्य सूनुः श्रीगोपाङ्गैः प्रकृतनिलयः श्रीमहीपालदेवः ।  
यम्प्राप्यैव प्रथितयशसन्तावभूतां सनाथौ सोयं त्यागो हरिर-  
विसृताभावदुष्टो चिरेण । खट्विङ्गवर्जमात्यानां विप्रा-

- (15) णांसन्प्रस्थितिम् । प्रलयं विदिषामासीद्द्रुक्षोपेन्द्रहरात्मकः —

यत्र धामनिधौ राक्षि पालयत्यवनीतलम् ॥ ———  
 ———मुदहन्ति शिरसः खलु राजहंसाः सृष्टास्त्वया पुनरिमाः  
 समयावसन्नाः । नाथ प्रजाः सुमनसां प्रथमो ———सित्वं सिद्ध-  
 वीररसता

- (16) मरसोद्भवस्य ॥ लक्ष्मीपतिस्त्वमसि पङ्कजचक्रचिह्नं पाणिद्वयं  
 वहसि भूप भुवं विभार्धि । श्यामं वपुः प्रथयसि स्थितिहेतु-  
 रेकस्त्वं कोपि नीतिविजितो ———  
 सम्पालयस्य निष्कर्षमर्थिजनस्य कायं रामः श्रिया त्वमसि नाथ मु  
 ———। सङ्कर्षणस्त्वमसि विद्विषदायुश्स्त्वं त्वं कोसि सच्चरितहाल  
 हलायुधस्य ॥ ख्यातारति ——— रूपं तवातिश —  
 (17) यविस्त्रयकारि देव । त्वं मीनसिद्धपुरुषोत्तमसम्भवोसि कस्त्वं  
 क्षितीश्वरशंकरसूदनस्य ॥ भूभृत्सुतापतिरसि द्विषतां पुराणि  
 भेत्तात्वमीश ———म । भूतिं  
 दधास्यमलचन्द्रविभूषिताङ्गः कस्त्वं सदम्बजदिवाकरशङ्करस्य ॥  
 त्वं तेजसा शिखिनमिद्धमधः करोषि शक्तिं दधासि ———  
 ———। त्वन्तारकं रिपुबल  
 (18) — बलान्निहंसि कस्त्वं नवीनलनीलमलब्धजन्मा ॥ त्वं वज्रभ-  
 त्वमसि पद्मभिदप्यश्रेष्ठं भूमीभृतां विवुधबन्धगुरुप्रियोसि ।  
 ——— दुर्गाचरणोसि कोसि त्वं भीमसाहससहस्रवि-  
 लोचनस्य । ख्यातं तवेशबज्रपुण्यजनाधिपत्यं कान्तालकावलि-  
 भिराप्ततमैः सुगुप्ता ॥ त्वामामनन्ति परमेश्वरबद्धसख्यं त्वं कोसि  
 सद्गुणनिधानधरा  
 (19) — धिपस्य । तेजोनिधिस्त्वमसि भूमिभृतः समग्राः क्रान्ताः करैः  
 प्रयतमुग्रतरैस्तवेश । प्राप्नोदयः सततमर्थिजनस्य कोसि त्वं क-  
 ल्पभूधर सरोरुहबान्धवस्य ॥ आनन्दोसि जनतानयनो-  
 त्पलानां माध्यायिताखिलजनः करमार्दवेन । त्वं शश्वदीश्वरशि-  
 रस्तलदत्तपादस्त्वं कोसि मर्त्यभुवनेशनिशाकरस्य ॥ त्वामंश-  
 मीश नि-  
 (20) गदन्ति मधुद्विधोमी श्यामाभिरामतनुरस्यमलप्रबोधः पुण्यं —  
 — रतमिदं विहितं त्वयैव त्वं कोसि सत्यधनसत्यवतीसुतस्य ।  
 ——— न्ति सुरसिन्धुरियं समुद्रप्रान्तन्वयोन्नतिमसौ गमि-  
 तः स्ववंशः । पूर्वं प्रवित्रवनके विहिताश्वकोसि वंशस्थलव्यपर-

ता — भगीरथस्य ॥ एतत्त्वया कृतमताडकमासुधिस्त्वं व्याप्ता  
महीह

- (21) — — रीश मनोजवैस्ते । पुण्यावतारकरणक्षतदुर्दशास्यस्त्वं  
कोसि हन्त रिपुलाघवराघवस्त्वम् ॥ धर्मप्रसूत्वमसि सत्यधर-  
स्त्वमेकस्त्वं वासुदेवचरणार्चनदत्तचित्तः । त्वं कोसि विप्रजनसे-  
वितशेषभूतिः भङ्गामनिष्ठुरयुधिष्ठिरपार्थिवस्य ॥ त्वं भूरिकु-  
ञ्जरवलो भुवनैकमल्ल — — — भूषिततनुर्दृपपावनोसि । प्रच्छन्न

*Transcript of the right half.*

- (1) — — — — — : कस्त्वं कवीन्द्रकृतमाद —  
कादरस्य । पक्वस्त्वमीश भुवि धर्मभृतां वरिष्ठः सखामिकारिगु-  
णदर्पहरस्त्वमाजौ । त्वं सर्वराजपुतनाविजयाप्तकीर्तिस्त्वं कोसि  
सुन्दरपुरन्दरनन्दनस्य ॥ दुर्योधनारिवलदर्पहृतस्त्ववेशयत्नः परा-  
र्जनयशःप्रसरेनिरोद्धम् । त्वं कोसि भूजनित — — —  
कर्त्तनविकर्त्तनसम्भवस्य ।
- (2) — — — — यस्त्वमसि कर्म गभीरतायास्त्वं पाप्मि पार्थस-  
मभूमिभृतः प्रविष्टान् । अन्तःस्थितस्त्वहं हरिः सततं नरेश कस्त्वं  
विदीर्णरिपुजागरसागरस्य ॥ — — — क्रमसमागतसत्त्व-  
वृत्तिस्त्वं राजकुञ्जरशिरःप्रवितीर्णपादः । दीप्तिरिभास्करतिर-  
स्कृतिसिंहिकाभूः कस्त्वं महीपतिमृगाङ्गभृगाधिपस्य । दानं द-  
दासि विकटो वत वंशशोभस्त्वं दन्तपालिकरवा
- (3) लहृतारिदर्पःक्षोणीभृतो जयसि तुच्छतया नरेन्द्र त्वं कोसिवैरि-  
वलदारणवारणस्य ॥ सद्गम्यस्त्वमसि मित्रकृतप्रमोदस्त्वं राज-  
हंससमलङ्कृतपादमूलः । स्वामिन्नधःकृतजडोसि जनाभिरामः  
कस्त्वं स्मिताल्यमुखपङ्कजपङ्कजस्य ॥ सत्यत्रभूषिततनुः सुविशुद्ध-  
कोशस्त्वं चन्द्रकीर्त्तिसमलङ्कृतकान्तमूर्त्तिः ख्यातं तवैव कविवर्ण  
— — — — — व्व वृहिक — —
- (4) समरभैरवकैरवस्य ॥ त्वं पश्यतां हरसि देव मनांसि सश्वन्मङ्ग-  
ल्यभूस्त्वमसि निर्मलताभिरामः । कोसि प्रसीद बज्रसङ्कुण्डलयो-  
निस्त्वं कच्छपारिकुलभूषणभूषणस्य ॥ धात्रा परोपकरणाय विहृ-  
यकायः सच्छायजन्मसमलङ्कृततुङ्गगोत्र । वृहिक — — मवनीश्व-  
रवन्दनीयस्त्वं कोसि सूर्यनृपनन्दनचन्दनस्य ॥ — — — —  
नवाशु शुद्धहृदय प्रथितो

- (5) ग्रमायस्त्वं जानुनक्षत्रवृषो न जडीघताङ्गस्तेनास्तु नाथ हरिणोप-  
मितिः कथं ते ॥ नित्यं सन्निहिते कृपासतमसाप्रायोभिभूयेत स  
त्वत्तासाद्भुवनैकनाथहरिणास्तस्योदरे प्राविशन् । भूर्तिस्ते च क-  
लङ्कितासजडतां धत्ते — — — शङ्खस्यैर्विदितस्तथापि नृप-  
तेराजा त्व — — — भूतः — — — — —  
विमुखतां पार्थेन नीताः परे व्यसिनस्तुतिरर्जुन-
- (6) स्याविहिते व्यञ्जायि पूर्वं किल तत्सम्यक् प्रतिभाति सम्प्रति पुनः  
श्रीमन्महीपालवत् त्वामालोक्य सहस्रशो रिपुबलं निघ्नन्तमेकं  
रणे ॥ किं ब्रूमापि — — — — —  
स्त्वेनीतिपात्रं परं वृत्तान्तं जगतीपतेरतिस्त्वयामात्मप्रियाणां प्रदणु ।  
कीर्त्तिर्भाम्यति दिक्षु — — — — —  
किं चित्रं भवनैक मल्ल यदि
- (7) मन्दाकिनीपद्मभूलोकादुद्धरता भगीरथनृपेणानायि निम्नां म-  
होम् । आश्चर्यं पुनरेतदीश यदि ते निम्नान्महीमण्डलादूर्ध्वं कीर्त्तिं  
— — — शोकमलभूलोकं त्वया प्रापिता । चित्रं नात्र फल—  
—  
सर्वात्मना विद्विषो  
विशिखैः संमूर्च्छितस्याहवे । — — — — — मध्ये
- (8) व्रताश्चर्यकृत् ॥ अत्यंबुधिभवद्वैमत्यादित्यभवन्महः । अतिसिंह-  
भवत्शौर्यमतः केनोपमीयते ॥ केयूरं बलभूपालभुजदण्डे वि-  
राजते । किरीटमिव — — — त्रिधासि विजयश्रियः ॥  
— — — भुवनगुरोस्तोत्रं मङ्गलास्तुतेषु
- (9) वैतालिकैरित्यमभियुतेन संपूजितामर्त्यगुरुद्विजेन । विमुक्तका-  
रागृहसंयतेन विदीर्णभूताभयदक्षिणेन । तेनाभिषिक्तमात्रेण  
प्रतिजज्ञे द्वयं स्वयम् । पद्मनाथस्य भूसिद्धिः कन्यायाः — — — ॥  
—  
— यशःशरीरम् ॥ स-
- (10) मर्षिता ब्रह्मपुरी च तेन शेषान्विधायावनिदेवमुख्यान् । प्रवर्त्ति  
— — ब्रमतन्त्रितेन मृष्टान्नपानैरतिधार्मिकेण ॥ श्रीपद्मनाथस्य  
सज्जेकनाथ — — — — — — — — — — —  
—  
— विला
- (11) सिनीवा — — नादिर्यथार्हतः पादकुलस्य मूर्त्तिम् । स पद्म-  
नाथस्य पुरः समग्रामकल्पयत्प्रेक्षकायभूषः ॥ पापाण्यपल्लीं प्र-  
विभज्य सम्यग् देवाय — — — — — । सम्पादयामास तथा



द्विजेभ्य— — — — —

- (12) गतो योगीश्वरांगोद्भवः स्थातः सूरिसलक्ष्मणः क्षितिपतेः सर्वत्र  
विश्वासभूः । आधारेविनयस्य शीलभवनं भूमिः श्रुतस्याकरः  
स्वाध्यायस्य — क क वसतिः
- (13) ह्रीपाले नटो विप्रास्तस्मिन् ग्रामे प्रतिष्ठिताः । तेषां नामानि  
लिखन्ते विस्मरः शासनोदितः ॥ देवलञ्चिः सुधीराख्यस्ततः श्री-  
धरदीक्षितः ॥
- (14) — — — — रामेश्वरो द्विजवरस्तथा दामोदरो द्विजः ।  
अष्टादशैते विप्राश्च — — — द्विजः । पादोनपदिका  
— — — ऐकौसुरार्चकौ । द्वावर्द्धपदिनावेष विप्राणां सङ्ग-  
हः कृतः । — — — — — दर्द्धपदं नृपः । विधाय  
— — — — कायस्य सूरये ॥ देवाय दत्तः सौवर्णीराज्ञा दत्तैः  
समाचिरम् । — — — — हरिणमणिमयं भूप-
- (15) — — — कं ददौ । रत्नैर्विचित्रं निष्कञ्च निष्क — — —  
सभूपतिः ॥ प्रा — केयूरयुगलं रत्नैर्वज्रभिराचितम् । कङ्क-  
णानां चतुष्कञ्च महार्हमणिभूषितम् । — — — —  
द्वितीय मणि — — स्य सौवर्णं केवलं यथा । कङ्कणानाञ्च-  
तुष्कञ्च नीलपट्टद्वयं तथा । — — — — लैः पञ्चभिर्युता ।  
— — — धारापात्रञ्च कां
- (16) — — चतुष्टयम् । सुवर्णाण्डत्रयं देवपरिवारविभूषणम् । — —  
— परिहेमाज्जमातपत्रोक्तं विभोः ॥ निवेश्य ताम्रपट्टे च तन्म-  
येनैवम — — । — — प्रतिमा त्रितयं मणि — — —  
राजती ॥ प्रतिमा — — का द्वितीया — — — युती ।  
राज — — मयीचान्या — — — । ताः प्रयत्नेन ति-  
क्षोपि पूज्यते — — वैष्मनि । तत्र ताम्रमयं देवं दीपार्थं  
मण्डिकाकृतम् ।
- (17) — — — — क । ताम्रार्घपात्रद्वितयं तथा दत्तं महीभुजा ।  
सधूपदहनाः सप्त घण्टाश्च — — । दत्ताः शङ्खाश्च सप्तैव ताम्र-  
पात्रीचतुष्टयम् । सकांस्यभाजनं प्रादानृपतिः — — — —  
चामरं दण्ड — — लृहच्चतुष्टयं ताम्रमयं ताम्रा — — ।  
दत्ताश्च दशतन्मयाः ॥ — — देवोपकरणत्रयाणां सङ्ग्रहः कृतः ।
- (18) — — — — वापीकूपतडागादि — — नानावनेषु च ।

दशमांशं तथाविंशत्यूर्ध्वं सर्वत्र मण्डले । ददौ राजा नि — —  
 यते सर्वं प्रवर्त्तते । अयं देवालयो नाम — — स्फटिकामल  
 — — — — — भारद्वाजेन मीमांसान्यायसंस्कृतबुद्धिना ।  
 कवीन्द्ररामपौत्रेण गोविन्दकविस्त्रुना । कविता मणिकर्णेन  
 सुभाषितसरसता । प्रशस्ति

(19) — — — — लङ्केश्वरवान् द्वितीयां विभक्तुहृत्तां मणिकण्ठ-  
 स्तरैः ।

पञ्चासे चाश्विने मासे कृष्णपक्षे नृपाक्षया । रचिता मणिकर्णेन  
 प्रशस्तिरियमुज्ज्वला ॥ अङ्कतोपि ११५० ॥ आश्विनवज्रलपञ्च

(20) — — — — —

खिलां महीम् । यस्य गीर्वाणमन्त्री च मन्त्री गौरो भव — — ।

प्रशस्तिरियमुत्कीर्णा सदृणा पद्मशिल्पिना ॥

(21) \* \* \* \* \*

No. 8. From a Sivite Temple in the Fort of Gwalior.

*Transcript.*

(१) — — — — —

(२) ख्याम् । तमन्वक्प्रतापावनम्भारिमौलिखगभ्यर्चनीयाङ्गिपीठोप-  
 कण्ठः । अधिष्ठायगोपालिकैराधिपत्ये वभौ भूमिपालो महीपाल-  
 देवः ॥ प्रतीपाखिलक्षत्रियक्षोददक्षो य एकातपत्रां धरित्रीं व्य-  
 धत् । दिशादन्तिकुम्भस्थलीशङ्खभूषां स्वकीर्त्तिन्तिलोकोतटान्ते  
 न्यधत् ॥ वैवस्वतकरदण्डाश्लिष्टे पा

(३) कुमुदवनविकासकृद्राजा ॥ पादानिह क्षितिभृतां दधतः शिरःसु  
 दोषापसारणपटोः सदिनश्रियश्च । धामाधिकस्य तरणेरिव दुः-  
 सहृत्वं यस्यावहृद्दिशि दिशि प्रसरत्प्रतापः ॥ उदारसमरारम्भो  
 दूरेसुकुर्वते रिपून् । यस्य प्रयाणवार्त्तापि पलायनपरायणान् ॥\*॥  
 भवस्य भालान्यकवर्त्मभेदं रुण्ड्यपर्सालकवू—

(४) सदा गच्छतु कालयज्वा ॥ श्रीमान्वभूव मधुराभिजने विमायः का-  
 यस्थवंशविपिनाम्बुधरः प्रहृष्टाः । शिष्टास्त्रिवर्गपथगामि मनोर-  
 थस्य यस्याध्यगोषत मनोरथ इत्यभिख्याम् ॥ भुवनपालनृपद्रवि-  
 ण्ययागमनियोगनिबन्धनलेखिनः । गणिततत्त्वसमस्तलिपिज्ञता  
 गुणकृतस्तवनेस्य गुरुर्लघुः ॥ कान्ताङ्गका—

- (५) ललिताङ्गययिः । स्पष्टीकृतात्मकुलशीलकलानुभावा भावानु-  
रक्तिपरमास्यरमेव विष्णोः ॥ यो मानिनां कैरवकुङ्कुलानां प्रज्ञा \*  
\* तमधादिवेन्दुः । हेमानि चन्द्रश्चतुरर्णवाच्च भान्तोरुकीर्त्तिस्तन-  
योस्य जज्ञे ॥ स्मरारिपूर्वामरमूर्त्तिसुन्दरो दरास्त्रवेस्त्रप्रकरा-  
र्पितध्वजैः । मरुद्रुतैस्तर्जयदङ्गिनामघान्यचीकरत्कीर्त्तनमा—
- (६) विधानेषु यतस्तदीया । शुचिस्मितोह्लासितहारकान्तिस्ततो ज-  
नैराप्तमतिर्गिरूचे ॥ त्रिजगद्धिततात्मयशोविसदीकृतदिक् स  
तयो स्तनयोभिजनोज्ज्वलसर्वनिजान्वयजाजरविः । मधुसूदन  
इत्यजनिष्ठ विशिष्टगुणप्रणयः स्तुतयो गुरुदारगुणं प्रतिसंप्रति  
यं विदुषाम् ॥ यशोविकासो मधुसूदनस्य भास्वन्यूखा
- (७) चूर्यमाणः क्षयमापदिन्दुः ॥ येन त्रिलोकजनताश्यशुद्धिहेतुर्द्ध-  
र्मापि निर्मलतमः क्रियतेस्त्र शस्त्रत् । तस्यावदातचरिताद्भुतव-  
र्त्सनायामोजोविष्टम्भितमहो यदिशारदायाः ॥ कराञ्जलिपुटो-  
द्धृतं जलमिवैष शम्बत्सुधीः समग्रजयदङ्गिनां प्रगलदायुरालोच-  
यन् । श्रुतैधितशमाम्बुसंशमितरागपात्रार्पि—
- (८) —॥ आशासु यः शिष्टजगज्जनस्य श्रियं न्यधादात्मकरावकृष्टां ।  
जना यदीयावरजं तमाशाचंद्रं जगुः प्रीतगुरुं सृष्टं ॥ पतितप्र-  
पतत्प्रपतिष्यदमर्त्यगृहोद्धरणैः स्वभुजार्जितशुद्धधनव्ययदंहितपु-  
ण्यनिधिः । यतिविप्रवरार्त्तविपन्नजनार्त्तिहरो भवनं भवनाशक-  
रस्य हरस्य स कारयतिस्म कृती ॥ विद्वद्वृन्दाम्बुजवनरविः श्रीज—
- (९) — निर्गन्धनाथः । यः सङ्गाधाविततकविताकेतुहर्म्यं कलानां पूर्वा-  
मेतामकृत स मुनिः श्रीयशोदेवनामा ॥ मनोभवान्धकारातिवि-  
घातकरणो भवः । दद्याद्दः सम्पदो देवो योग जाजिनभूतिभृत् ॥  
श्रीविक्रमार्कान्तपकालातीतसम्बत्सराणामेकषष्ठ्यधिकायामेकादश-  
शत्यां माघशुक्लषष्ठां प्रतिष्ठाभूत् ॥

*Translation.*

(Line 1st is not deelypherable. The second has two s'lokas in the Bhujangaprayāta meter and the first eleven syllables of another in a different meter.) Next came the proteetor of earth, Mahipāla Deva, who established himself in his dominion along with the Gopālikas. His valour had caused the heads of his enemies to ineline, whereby garlands had dropt from them in respectful offering before his foot-stool—(?) Proficient in destroying hosts of inimical Kshetrias, he

placed the earth under one royal umbrella. He spread (the glory of) his deeds to the extreme verge of the three regions, and placed it as a shell ornament\* on the temples of the elephants which guard the (ten) quarters of space.

(3rd line, after eleven syllables a verse each in the Vansantatilaka and the Anustup meters.) His widespread majesty, like the rays of the sun, proved insufferable on every side, of him whose feet rested on the heads of royalty—the remover of vice.† His enemies (—) fly far from the ardour of his commencing warfare—even the news of his approach drives them away to a distance. (Here 19 syllables in the Upendravajra meter missing.)

(4th line, after 9 syllables 1 s'loka each in the Indravajra and the Drutavilambita meters.) The auspicious was born, he whose family was in Mathurá, the disinterested, the cherisher of Káyasthas.‡ Feeling delighted, all good people named him Manoratha§ for verily his mind was directed to the path which leads to the three-fold enjoyment of virtue, wealth and pleasure. All the resources of arithmetic and rhetoric fail to those who attempt to write in praise of the income and expenses of King Bhuvanapála (four syllables unintelligible).

(5th line, after 6 syllables the second half and a full s'loka in the Indravajra meter and 1 in the Vañsasthavila.) Like Ramá wife of Vishṇu she was great in love and affection, and had made her race, morals, and accomplishments manifest by her conduct. Unto him was born by her a son renowned for noble deeds, who made the blossom of desire of the respected to blow, who like the moon to the four oceans—?

The waving of the flag on the top of his palace of beautiful white|| and black|| marble seemed to fan away the vices of mankind (two syllables wanting to complete the verse).

(6th line, after 9 syllables the latter half of a Upendravajra

\* In allusion to the ornament of cowries with which elephants' heads are generally decorated.

† *Dosha* in Sanskrit, which in the case of the king means vice, and in that of the sun, night; as one removes night so does the other the vices of mankind.

‡ Lit. The rain-bearing cloud to the forest of Káyasthas. It is remarkable that he should have selected the Káyasthas for his special care.

§ There is a play upon the word *Manoratha* (desire or the object of desire) which cannot be reproduced in English, and consequently the reason of the prince's being called by that name, does not become apparent.

|| Of the colour of the enemy of Cupid *i. e.* Mahádeva who is white, and that of Purvámara or demons *i. e.* black.



s'lōka and a s'lōka of 18 syllables to the foot) His gentle and pure smile added to the lustre of his brilliant necklace—?

His fame which pervaded all the three regions of the universe had enlightened all quarters. A son Madhusudana, who was like a sun to the bright lotus of his race, was born. He was familiar with all great merits. Unto him of great and noble qualities, who was eulogized by the learned (16 syllables unintelligible).

(7th line after 10 syllables. Two s'lōkas, one in the vasantatilaka and the other in the Prithvī measures.) By whom religion was purified for ever, that religion which ennobles the mind every where in the three regions. Her powers would fail her were even Sáradā\* to attempt describing his pure and wonderful disposition. That wise king considering the life of mankind to be as unstable as water held in the palm of the hand—

(8th line, 1 s'lōka in the Indravajra and 1 in the Totāka.) He placed wealth earned by his own hands for the gratification of the good people of the earth. Therefore did mankind say that the great full moon of gratification was born of him.

His treasure of virtue daily increased by his devoting his purely earned wealth to the preservation of falling or prostrate temples, or such as might in future be destroyed for want of care. He removed the sufferings of yatis, Brahmanas, and of men diseased or in misfortune; he also built a temple to Hara the destroyer of the world (12 syllables unintelligible).

(9th line, after 5 syllables the second half of a s'lōka in the Mandākrántā, a s'lōka in the Anustubh and the date in prose.) The saint, who was like unto a flag-emblazoned store-house of sweet and poetical language, and who composed this most excellent eulogy, is named Sri Jasodeva. May the god Bhava (Siva) the destroyer of the enemies, the mind-born† and Andhaka,‡ who dresses himself in elephant hide and ashes, bestow on you wealth! This was dedicated in the year of King Vikramārka, sixty-one plus eleven hundred, in the month of Māgha, the 6th day of the waxing moon,

Nos. 9 and 10. not given by Col. C.

No. 11. Teli Mandir, Fort of Gwalior.

\* The goddess of poetry.

† The Hindu Eros. Manobhava.

‡ A giant of that name.



ॐ नमः ॥ वे \* श्रीशकरेन्द्रवलतदिहभुज चक्रं सुललासे

No. 12. Teli Mandir, Fort of Gwalior.

ना सीहसय

नागसीहस्य

No. 13. Teli Mandir, Fort of Gwalior.

श्रीसकर देवजसर्व

No. 14. not given by Col. C.

No. 15. From the Temple of Ambiká Devi at Suhaniya.

ॐ सिद्धि; संवत् १४६७ वर्षे मार्गसुदि ५ सो, दिनं ॥ महाराजाधिराज श्रीवीलङ्गदेवः । श्रीत्तीयं काकौमनपुकर वासोः । प्रधान — जनार्दनः । भुजदानु रा — — ज — । सूत्र यारदान वाभुः ॥ माछा पेति — — ॥ —

Prosperity! On the 5th day of the waxing moon in the month of Mágha, Samvat 1467. Mahárájádhirája Bilauga Deva (rest unintelligible). Col. C. reads the name, Virama.

No. 16. From the foot of a Colossal Figure at Chaitnath, Suhaniya.

६ः ॥ सिद्धि । सन्तु १४६७ वर्षे वैशाखसुदि १५ दि—न मौ—म द्यावे वे र — — — करा ब्रह्मभूता सर — गत्या र — आदि अखण्ड छ — — औख — क — सुत — रिता मुठे छ — व —

May prosperity attend (on all) on Sunday the full moon of Vais'ákha, Samvat 1467. (The rest unintelligible.)

No. 17. From the Great Temple at Suhaniya, on Pillars.

अंविवत्तदासण — ॥ ऐ — सिद्धि संवत् १४६७ वैशाखसु ९ रवी श्रीङ्गरे — नृपः साधनीपुत्र सद्याट मुकलुनल पुरण वासूयाककल पुर दध ॥ ॐ । ऐ ॥ ह

द्या — कापालागनु श्रीपलिघटसुततिडः

On Sunday the 9th of the waxing moon, in the month of Vais'ákha, Samvat 1497. During the reign of the Mahárájá Dungarendra Deva (rest illegible).

No. 18. Pedestal of a Colossal Figure of Ádinátha at Gwalior.

श्रीच्यादिनाथाय नमः ॥ संवत् १४६७ वर्षे वैशाख — — ७ शुक्र पु. नर्वसुनक्षत्र श्रीगोपाचलदुर्गे महाराजाधिराजराजा श्रीङ्ग — — — संवर्त्तमानो श्रीकाञ्चीसंघे मायूरान्वयो पुष्करगणभट्टारक

श्रीगणकीर्त्तिदेव तत्पदे यत्नः कीर्त्तिदेवा प्रतिष्ठाचार्य श्रीपंडितरघू-  
तेपं । आभाये अग्रोतवंशे मोदुलगोत्रा सा ॥ धुरात्मा तस्य पुत्र साधु-  
भोपा, तस्य भार्या नाङ्गी । पुत्र प्रथम साधुक्षेमसी द्वितीय साधु-  
महाराजा तृतीय असराज चतुर्थ धनपाल पञ्चम साधुपाल्का ।  
साधुक्षेमसी भार्या नारादेवी पुत्र — ज्येष्ठपुत्र भधायि पतिकौल ॥  
भ— भार्या च ज्येष्ठस्त्री सरसुती पुत्र मल्लिदास द्वितीय भार्या सा-  
ध्वीसरा पुत्र चन्द्रपाल । क्षेमसीपुत्र द्वितीय साधु श्रीभोजराजा भायो  
देवस्य पुत्र पूर्णपाल ॥ एतेषां मध्ये श्री ॥ त्यादिजिनसंघाधिपति काला  
सदा प्रणमति ॥

Salutation to Adinátha. On the 7th of the waxing moon, when she was in the mansion of Punarvashu, in the month of Vaisákha, Samvat 1497, when the Mahárájádbírájá Dungarendra Deva reigned in the fort of Gopáchala. The saint Gunakírti Deva, of the congregation of Kánchi and of the race of Magura, who belonged to the class (gana) of Pushkara, was succeeded by Kirti Deva, next the respected priest Pandita Sri Raghu, next Pandita Sri Bháyá of pure soul, who belonged to the race of Agrota and the clan (gotra) of Modgala. His son was *Sádhu* Bhopá, whose wife was Nanhí, whose first son was *Sádhu* Kshemsi, second son *Sádhu* Mahárájá, third Asarájá, fourth Dhanapála and fifth *Sádhu* Pálká. The wife of *Sádhu* Kshemsi was Norá Deví of whose sons the eldest was Bhagáyí, whose son was Kaulabha. The eldest wife of the latter was Saraswatí by whom he had Mallidása. His second wife was Sádheswará or the faithful (Sáddhí) Swará, whose eldest son was Chandrapála. The second son of Kshemsi was *Sádhu* Sri Bhojarájá. The son of Bháyá Deva was Purna Pála. Among these Kálá the head of the congregation of Ádi Jina, offers constant salutation.\*

- (१) सिद्धि संवत् १५१० वर्षे माघसुदि ८ (अ) यमै (स्यां) श्रीगो-  
पगिरौ महाराजाधिराजरा-  
(२) जा श्रीडंगरेन्द्रदेवराज्यप्र — — श्रीकाञ्चीसंघेमायूरान्वये  
भट्टारक श्री  
(३) क्षेमकीर्त्तिदेवस्तत्पदे श्रीहेमकीर्त्तिदेवास्तत्पदे श्रीविमलकीर्त्ति-  
देवाः — —

\* I am very doubtful about the accuracy of this translation. The name Kálá is most probably incorrect. I publish this only as tentative.

- (४) डिता — — सदान्नाये अग्रोतवंशे गर्गगोत्रेसा — — — त  
 (५) घोः पुत्रा ये दशाय श्रीवन्द भार्या मालाही तस्य प्रवसा० घेघार  
 रा—जीसा — — — दु  
 (६) तीयसा० हरिवन्दभार्या जसोधर हितये — — — — —  
 — णसीसा० सधासा० तृती  
 (७) यहेमा चतुर्थसा० रतीपुत्रसा० सह सायं — मु सा० धं—  
 सा० सल्लापुत्रयेसेवं ए  
 (८) तेषां मध्ये साधु श्रीचंद्रपुत्र शेषा तथा हरिचंद्रदेवकी  
 भार्या — —  
 (९) दीप्रमुखा नित्यं श्रीमहावीरप्रतिमा प्रतिष्ठाप्य भूरिभक्त्या प्र-  
 णमंति ॥  
 (१०) अङ्गुष्ठमात्रां प्रतिमां जिनस्य भक्त्या प्रतिष्ठापयतो महत्या ।  
 फलं बलं राज्य  
 (११) मनन्तसौख्यं भवस्य विच्छित्तिरथो विमुक्तिः ॥ शुभं भवतु  
 सर्वेषां ॥

On the 8th of the waxing moon, in the month of Mággha, Samvat 1510, in the reign of the supreme lord of great kings, king Sri Dungarendra Deva, High Priest (Bhattárka) Sri Kshemakírti Deva of the congregation of Kánci and of the race (gotra) of Mâyura, next his successor Hemakírti Deva, and next his successor Amalakírti Deva. (Rest illegible.)

## LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.


The following is part of a letter to E. C. Bayley, Esq. from Col. Cunningham, dated 6th May, 1862.


"I have got a small silver coin, similar to the oboli of Eukratides, but of a new barbarous king, *Obv.* King's head, bold *Rev.* a standing figure, almost the same as that on the copper coins of Kadaphes Zathus. Legend in two lines ΗΡΑΟΥ ΚΟΙΠΑΝ (Υ)—The name appears to be complete. I read it as Heräus (? Hêrâwâ ? Erâ.) I have two somewhat similar coins, but still closer imitations of the Eukratides obolus with the legend ΚΟΖΟΥΑΟ in one line, the other line being wanting except ΟΚΟ.—*Kouparos* is a well known name for king, and Era or Ela or Aila is an Indian name.

With regard to Oskäus, I rather incline to read the name as Huvoskäus. There is no Υ after *Turauno*, unless the T looking letter be taken for Υ. To read ΤΟΥ we must omit the Υ from ΤΥΠΑΝΝΟΥ. I would prefer reading ΤΥΠΑΝΝΟΥ ΟΥΟΞΚΑΟΥ ΣΑΝΑΒ . . ΥΗΙΙΟΩΑΝΟΥ. This would be Voskäus, but might also be read as Hovoskäus, which would be a near approach to Huvishka. The actual letters, however, read ΤΥΠΑΝΝΟ ΤΟΥ ΟΞΚΑΟΥ.

The name of the father of Zeiônisos appears to be Manigala. One of my coins has ANNII on the Greek side. May he not have been the founder of Manikyâla. This name, as it at present stands, is of course a pure Hindu one, Manikya + alaya, but the name may have been slightly altered from *Manigalaya*. I have an impression of a third didrachm of Zeionisos, different somewhat from my own two coins. I have sent for the coin itself. It seems odd that we do not get any of Manigal's own coins. I have half a dozen of his son's copper coins, besides the two silver ones. If we could get some more of these coins which give the father's names we should get some valuable facts to add to our scanty knowledge of early Indian history.

Have you any specimen of the *Jital*? I have one small copper coin with the word Jitalah جتله I cannot make out the legends. I read *bagâni* — ? بگانی does the coin express the value of a *jital* in *gânis*?

I have two Kashmirian copper coins with  on the female side,

and  on the male side?—*Umm* (atti Varmma).

Another good specimen of the square Satrap Horseman and Lion type has come to hand. I make out the legends as follows.

H

APTAYOY XAPATIΩΣTEIΣATPAHEI

APTAov YIOY XAPAΔωΣTHΣ ΣATPAHHΣ

*Megadastes* is a known Persian name. The native legend I read as follows.

*Attasa-putrasa Tsatrapasa Karada ostasa.*

The father's name is somewhat doubtful. Perhaps Artas, or Artavas reading APTAYOY as the genitive, and omitting YIOY — which is not absolutely necessary — artabas occurs in Ktesias. Have you any specimens with you to clear up this reading?

I have a new relative of Gondophares, but unfortunately the name is incomplete and very much rubbed BA sileus basileon. It is not Orthagnes, as the head is quite different. The end of the name may be ATHC or APHC. The native legend is in tolerable order, but quite unintelligible. Beginning from the two streamers of Victory's wreath it is

Maha.....disa-sa hidasa tradinasa janatinuja

?

Sahina Satadinasa janadinuja ra ?

It is possibly a coin of Gondophares himself.

I still continue to puzzle over the dates of the Mathura inscriptions, as well as over those of the Manikyâla and Kâbul Topes. The dates of the Mathura inscriptions *ought to be* in the era of the Nirvâna of Buddha—those of the Manikyâla and Kâbul Topes may be either in the era of the Nirvâna of Buddha, or in that of the Seleucidae, or in some local Bactrian or Indo-Scythian era. The Parthians certainly established an era, but they as certainly made use of the Seleucidan era on their coins. The last idea that has struck me is that some one or more of the characters may be mere indices or exponents—as was the case in Europe, and also in Western India. Thus in Europe 1862 would have been written 1862 where the let-

MCXI,

ters below show that the figures above represent thousands, hundreds, tens and units. In the Western Cave inscriptions the *hundreds* and thousands are written with indices — thus 𐤠𐤡 = hundreds 3 — and



ॠॡ = thousands 4 — while the tens and units have separate figures. Now to apply this to our inscriptions from Mathura, Manikyâla and Kâbul. The Mathura dates give 𑀘𑀓𑀭𑀮 and 𑀘𑀮. Let us consider 𑀓 as equivalent to the Arian letter 𑀭 = *h* for *hat* = *sat* = 100, then the first character 𑀘 may be = 𑀮 = 4 and the date would be 4 hundreds plus 31 in the first case or 431, and 401 in the second case, by adopting Thomas's 𑀓 for 30 — which I doubt. The figure 4 is represented indifferently by *eh*, or by *chh* — as 𑀮 or = 𑀘. In the Manikyâla inscription the date is 𑀘𑀘𑀓 which might be read as “hundreds 4, plus 4, or 404. It is no matter which way the date is read—as by reading from the left it would be 4 plus 4 hundreds. The Wardak date 𑀓𑀓𑀓 would be hundreds 3 plus 3 = 303 which if of the Seleucid era would be = 9 B.C. The day of the month, however, seems to include the same cipher 𑀓. If this is the same character my new reading falls to the ground at once—but it is possible to read 𑀘𑀓𑀮𑀮 = *vrihiya* 4.

The whole subject is full of difficulty. In the Mathura dates it would be better perhaps to take the sloping character 𑀓 which agrees with the Kâbul and Manikyâla forms as the index for hundreds, but then the date would be 𑀘𑀓 in hundreds.

One thing is certain = in the Western Cave inscriptions, the units and tens are represented by independent cyphers = the hundreds and thousands by the unit cyphers with indices. Now as the Kâbul and Mathura inscriptions are of about the same period, we ought to expect to find the same system of notation employed in them.

I have a suspicion that the two Mathura dates of 𑀘𑀓𑀭𑀮 and 𑀘𑀮 are the same, the two middle characters of the first being new exponents — 𑀮 must be an unit as it is used to number the day of the month. It is the figure 1 of the Satrap inscriptions of the Western Caves. If we might read 𑀘𑀓𑀭𑀮 as 4 *h* a 1, that is 4 *hat aka* anka 1, = 4 hundreds + units 1 = 401 *anka* being taken for *unit*. The figure 7 is represented by 𑀮 in the Cave inscriptions. Thomas's 𑀓 for 30 is a mistake, which he has adopted from Stevenson. His 𑀓 for 30 may be correct—and if so, the Mathura

date according to my reading will be  $4 \text{ } h \text{ } 31 = 4 \text{ } hat \text{ (or hundreds)}$   
 $+ 31 = 431$  which deducted from 477 or 457 will give B.C. 46 or  
 26—for Huvishka — and I would read ~~✕~~ 𑀅𑀲 as  $400 + 1 = 401$  —  
 which would give 76 or 56 B. C. for Vasu ( — ). Now the Kanwa  
 Prince Vasu Deva reigned from 66 to 57 B. C. This date would  
 therefore suit him exactly.

$\times \times 7 = h \text{ } 4 + 4 = 404$  of *Manikyāla* (Kanishka), and *Kohwāt*.  
 The Chinese and the Ceylonese place kamishka 400 years after Bud-  
 dha. The Wardak date of  $733 = h \text{ } 3 + 3 = 303$  must be of the  
 Seleucidan era = 9 B. C. for Huvishka the date of Kanishka being  
 as above  $404 - 457 = 53$  B. C. According to the Raja Taringini the  
 three brothers reigned 60 years.”

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Dr. Hall writes from London, Oct. 10th.

“Benfey has written a Sanskrit grammar for Englishmen. It has  
 been translated into English; and Müller is seeing the translation  
 through the press. The fourth part of Muir’s Sanskrit Texts is well  
 advanced. The 4th vol. of Müller’s Rig Veda and commentary will  
 be out in a few days.”

We are glad to announce that our learned coadjutor has been ap-  
 pointed Professor of Hindustani and Indian Jurisprudence in King’s  
 College.

PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL,  
FOR JULY 1862.

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The monthly general meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal was held on the 2nd instant.

Colonel R. Strachey, Vice-President, in the Chair.

The proceedings of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Presentations were received—

From Mr. E. B. Harris, impressions of an inscription on the back of an image of Buddha found in Sultangunge, near Monghyr. The inscription contains the Buddhist creed so common on such images.

2. From Major J. C. Haughton, a hollow wooden shield from Port Blair, used by the natives as a *tom-tom*.

3. From Archdeacon Pratt, a copy of his papers from the Philosophical transactions on Mountain and other Local Attraction in India.

Read letters—

From H. Bell, Esq., intimating his desire to withdraw from the Society.

From the Under-Secretary, Government of Bengal, forwarding an extract of the annual general report of the Rajshahi Division giving some account of a Cyclone which visited the western part of the district in March last.

From the Under-Secretary, Government of India in the Home Department, containing the following extract from the proceedings of the Government of India in the Financial Department, with reference to the Society's solicitation for a reconsideration of the decision of the late Hon'ble Court on Mr. Blyth's application for a pension.

“It appears from the papers on the case that Mr. Blyth’s application was considered inadmissible by the late Hon’ble Court of Directors, on the ground that ‘the grant of pensions from the public revenues is strictly limited to those who are in the direct service of Government.’ This principle still holds good, and His Excellency the Governor-General in Council does not think that Mr. Blyth’s application for a pension can be supported on the ground now advanced by the Asiatic Society. As a special case, however, it appears to His Excellency in Council to have claims to consideration. It is the case, His Excellency remarks, of a man of science, who has devoted himself for a very small salary to duties in connexion with the Asiatic Society, a body aided by and closely identified with the Government of India from which the public have derived great advantage.

“Mr. Blyth may truly be said to have been, in a great measure, the creator of the Natural History Museum, which has hitherto supplied the place of a Public Museum in the metropolis of India and which will probably, soon be made over to Government, as part of a National Museum. This collection is open to the public free of charge, and many thousands have derived benefit and instruction from it.

“In addition to the direct educational benefits of the Museum, the character and standing of the Asiatic Society undoubtedly exercise a most beneficial indirect effect in maintaining a high standard of Science and Literature among a numerous body of the Civil and Military Officers in the service of Government, and in one important department, that of Zoology and Natural History, Mr. Blyth’s labours have done much to maintain and to extend that character.

“His Excellency in Council considers, therefore, that if, under such circumstances, Mr. Blyth should after twenty years’ service, be compelled to retire from ill-health, brought on very much by his exertions in pursuit of science, it would not be creditable to the Government that he should be allowed to leave without any retiring pension, and His Excellency in Council is of opinion that if the rule which limits pensions to those who are in the direct service of Government can be relaxed, the application on behalf of Mr. Blyth ought to be favorably entertained.”

The Chairman moved that the thanks of the Society be conveyed to His Excellency in Council for the liberal concessions made in favour of Mr. Blyth.

Carried unanimously.

The nomination of the Hon'ble W. Grey to be a member of the Council, *vice* the Right Hon'ble S. Laing, was confirmed.

The Council reported that they had appointed Colonel R. Strachey, a Vice-President, and Mr. J. G. Medlicott, a member of their body, in the place of Mr. Oldham who has left India.

With reference to the announcement made at the last meeting, the Council reported that they had addressed the following letter to Government on the subject of the projected Government Museum :—

FROM THE SECRETARY TO THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.  
TO E. C. BAYLEY, ESQ.,

*Secretary to the Government of India,  
Home Department.*

*Dated, Asiatic Society's Rooms, Calcutta, June 18th, 1862.*

SIR,—I am desired by the Council of the Asiatic Society to reply to your letter No. 2564, dated the 22nd May, informing the Society that His Excellency the Governor-General in Council is now prepared to consider the offer made by the Society in 1858, relative to the foundation of a public Museum in Calcutta, to which the Society's collections might, under certain conditions, be transferred.

2. The Council cordially thanks His Excellency in Council for the liberal proposals that he has made to the Society, and for the strong additional proof that he has now given of the interest the Government of India takes in the advancement of science by offering to establish a Museum in this city to be maintained by the State.

3. But the Council regrets that it is unable to give an immediate reply to the offers thus made. The resolution of the Society which authorized the Council to enter into communication with the Government on this subject was passed in May, 1857, and the whole matter has now been in abeyance for several years. The Council therefore feels that no real decision can be communicated to the Government until the entire subject has again been fully brought before the members of the Society, and re-considered according to the regular forms of procedure. At the same time the Council, being generally disposed to concur in the propriety of carrying out in their main features, the proposals made in 1858, believes that it will be useful and will tend to an early decision of the questions involved in your letter, if it states the impressions of its own body on these questions



and submits at once a preliminary scheme, suggesting the general scope of the details which it would propose in filling up the outline which has been sketched out by you. The process of making a reference to the Society at large is of necessity tedious; and the Council considers that it will best meet the interests of the Society and the convenience of the Government, if it endeavours to obtain the general approval of the Government to a scheme which it could recommend to the acceptance of the Society in a complete form. In this sense and with the distinct reservation, that the opinions expressed in this letter are those of the Council, and cannot be held to be binding on the Society, or to interfere in any way with its complete liberty of action in dealing finally with the matter, the Council desires me to make the following observations.

4. The Council has understood your letter to be designed to elicit from the Society an expression of its wishes as to the details of the general arrangements, which it had been said must be satisfactory to the members of the Society, before its collections could be transferred to a Public Museum; and it is with much respect that the Council desires to submit for the favourable consideration of His Excellency the Governor-General the following scheme, which in its essentials is, it thinks, quite in accordance with the proposals contained in your letter:—

#### I.—MUSEUM.

I.—The Museum to be a Public Museum, the management being vested in a Board of Trustees to be constituted by an Act of the Legislature.

II.—The Trustees to be fourteen in number; the President to be His Excellency the Governor-General of India; the Vice-President to be the President of the Asiatic Society; of the remainder, six to be named by the Government, and six by the Asiatic Society.

III.—The complete management, arrangement, and disposal of the Museum to be in the Trustees.

IV.—The Museum to be open to the public under suitable rules to be approved by the Government.

V.—The rules further to provide for the continuance to the Members of the Asiatic Society, in respect to the New Museum, of all their existing privileges in respect to their own present Museum—in regard to their rights of entering the Museum, and of examining

or taking out specimens from it—subject to such modifications as shall be made by the Trustees from time to time in communication with the Council of the Asiatic Society.

VI.—Suitable clauses to be introduced into the Act of Incorporation to provide for the restoration to the Asiatic Society of its contributions to the Museum, if the Trust shall hereafter be dissolved ; and for enabling the Society to mark by a special label its donations to the Museum, and to keep a separate Catalogue of all specimens so contributed by it.

VII.—The Council understands it to be the intention of the Government to endow and maintain the Museum on a scale suitable to the importance of the object for which it is founded, and corresponding with the great value of the contributions to be made to it by the Society.

VIII.—The locality suggested for the Museum, the site of the present Small Cause Court, appears to the Council to be excellent.

IX.—Regarding the name to be given to the Museum, the Council would desire to abstain from offering any present opinion ; a decision on this point is obviously not pressing.

X.—Under the foregoing stipulations, the Council would recommend to the Society to agree to the complete transfer of all its collections to the new Museum ; the Library and Manuscripts, Pictures, Busts, and other miscellaneous objects to be specified hereafter, to be reserved by the Society.

## II.—ASIATIC SOCIETY.

XI.—The Asiatic Society to remain constituted exactly as at present, having the complete management and disposal of its own affairs.

XII.—The Council considers that the Society would be desirous of receiving accommodation in juxtaposition with the new Museum building.

XIII.—The house for the Society should provide a Meeting Room ; an Ante-room ; a Library ; two Reading-rooms or Study Rooms ; a Room for the Librarian and Clerks ; and other ordinary subsidiary minor accommodation.

5. There is only one point on which the Council would desire to suggest to the Government any important modification of the proposals that have been made in your letter. It has reference to the

disposal of the Society's present house, which, for the following reasons, the Council would submit, may with justice be left in the hands of the Society, and not be transferred to the Government in return for the accommodation offered in juxtaposition with the new Museum. The Council has nothing further from its intentions than to enter into negotiations with the Government on this subject in anything approaching a spirit of self-aggrandisement or of barter. The object which the Government and the Society alike have in view in this matter is the furtherance of Science and of true knowledge, and there is no room for the intrusion of any questionable motive on either side. But the Council feels strongly the great value, not only in a scientific sense, but in a pecuniary sense also, of the collections which it offers to hand over to the new Museum. These collections have been brought together after long years of patient labour, and at great expense to the Society; and the Council rejoices that the Society has so bestowed its means, and that it is now placed in a position to give still greater effect to its past work by bestowing its Museum on an Institution which promises to fulfil all its aspirations in this direction. And having this feeling, the Council thinks that it may fairly and frankly suggest to the Government that, in return for the very extensive collections thus to be presented to the public by the Society—collections of which the money value must be estimated at many thousand pounds—the State might, without for a moment considering that it conferred a favour in so doing, provide the Society with the accommodation it would need near the new Museum, and leave to the Society the disposal of its existing house, for the purpose of reinforcing the very restricted pecuniary means now at its disposal. If proof be needed that these means will in the future be well applied, the Council is satisfied that it will be completely given in the past history of the Society; and it appeals confidently to the manner in which the Society's Museum has been got together, and to the present proposals regarding its future disposal, to show the spirit in which the Society may be expected to perform its functions. The objects of the Society will be, as they ever have been, the advancement of knowledge. But from the very nature of the case, the numbers of the Society being small, and the contributions of its Members limited, the want of pecuniary means has always greatly restricted the sphere of the Society's usefulness,

and, under any imaginable circumstances, no doubt will still continue to do so. The Council therefore trusts that the Government will see in this suggestion nothing but the indication on their part of what appears to them an equitable and practicable way of making the present arrangements as conducive as possible to the usefulness of the Society, without making any serious or undue claim on the Government.

6. Should His Excellency the Governor-General in Council be disposed to meet the views that have thus been expressed by the Council, the Council trusts that the Society would ratify an arrangement on such a basis.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

W. S. ATKINSON,

*Secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*

The following gentlemen duly proposed at the last meeting were balloted for, and elected ordinary members :

A. M. Monteath, Esq., C. S. ; Hon'ble T. J. H. Thurlow ; J. Gordon, Esq., C. S. ; Captain H. Hyde, Bengal Engineers ; Baboo Bhola Nauth Mullick.

The Hon'ble Major General Sir R. Napier, K. C. B. ; Major Allen Johnson, Bengal Staff Corps.

The following Gentlemen were named for ballot at the next meeting :—

H. Beverley, Esq., C. S., proposed by Dr. Duka, seconded by the President.

Captain J. P. Basevi, Bengal Engineers, proposed by Lieutenant-Colonel Thuillier, seconded by Major Walker.

J. W. S. Wyllie, Esq., proposed by Mr. Bayley, seconded by the President.

W. L. Heeley, Esq. C. S., proposed by Mr. Atkinson, seconded by the President.

Col. Vincent Eyre, proposed by Archdeacon Pratt, seconded by Col. R. Strachey.

Communications were received—

1. From Rev. A. Brandt through Major Dalton, a copy of a Phonetic table of the Alphabet prepared by a Philologist of Finland.

2. From Baboo Gopee Nauth Sein, Abstracts of Meteorological Observations taken at the Surveyor General's Office, Calcutta, for March and April last.

3. From Mr. E. C. Bayley, some remarks on certain coins recently procured for the Society from Captain Stubbs.

Mr. Bayley remarked that the whole collection obtained from Captain Stubbs had not as yet been fully examined, but that he would make some observations on a few of them which appeared to him especially worthy of notice.

Two of these were gold coins of Malwa, the first a fine one of Mahomed Shah, the son of Hoshung Shah.

It bore on the obverse the titles of that King "al Sultan ul Azim—Taj ud dunia wa uddin Abul Mozuffer;" on the reverse, "Mohamnd Shah bin Hushung Shah ul sultan" and round the margin the name of the coin "al Sikah," the mint Shadiabad or Mandoo, and the date 840.

As to the latter it was curious that Ferishtah quoting the *Tari-khi Alfi* in two places gives dates which place the death of this sovereign about two months before the close of 839, A. H. This point is given with much circumstantiality and detail, so as to show that it is no mere clerical error.

The other coin which was somewhat similar in its reverse appearance is of considerably later date.

The obverse inscription ran thus: "ul Sultan ul Azim bin Ghieas uddunia wa uddin Khilji" (bin?), Abul Mozuffer Mahmood Shah Khuld Allah Khalafalu.

The reverse contained (imitating the coins of Alaudin Khilji of Delhi) "Sekunder ul Sani Yamin ul Khalafat Nasir Amir ul mominin." The reverse margin gives the same legend as the other coin, but the date which was imperfect was either 908 or 909.

The next three coins were coins of the earlier Khalifs.

No. I. was a coin of the Abbaside Khalif al Mahdi and was struck at Bagdad in 162 A. H. It is described and figured as No. XXIII. in Marsden's *Numismata Orientalia*.

The others were both apparently of Haroun al Rashid, dated respectively 19? and 192. The date on the first named coin, however, was somewhat rubbed and dubious, and the name of the mint was also unfortunately imperfect. This was the more to be regretted as the name of the mint seemed to be a new one.



The second coin, which was very perfect in its preservation of beautiful execution, was struck at Bagdad. The second was Marsden's No. XLVI.

The first named coin was not described in Marsden, and one of the inscriptions was not quite deciphered; the character used was too of rather peculiar form.

The Dehli rebels had destroyed the copy of Professor Frahn's works which Mr. Bayley once possessed and he was not quite certain if the coin was, as was probable, an undescribed mintage.

Mr. Cowell noticed that Mr. E. Thomas had on more than one occasion, but especially in his paper on Pathan coins, pointed out the untrustworthiness of the dates given by the Mohammedan historians of India. Syud Ahmed had further illustrated it in the edition of Zia Barni's *Tarikh-i Feroz Shahi* recently published in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, by dated quotations from Khosru and other poets, showing that in several instances the dates given in the history were manifestly erroneous.

Mr. Bayley replied that this was true, and the coins were ordinarily more trustworthy than the histories, but even they were not always accurate. This proceeded in various instances from different causes, and he instanced the coins struck during the interregnum which followed the departure of Timour from Dehli when coins were struck correctly dated, but in the name of deceased kings, for fear of arousing the vengeance of that tyrant or his successors.

So also more recently, during the mutiny at Bareilly and Lucknow, coins had been struck in the name of Shah Alum, and in those struck at Bareilly the correct date was given, and what would have been the year of his reign had he been living.

4. From Babu Rajendralal Mitra a paper on the vestiges of the kings of Gwalior and a note on a copper plate grant from Sarun. The Babu read the papers, and the thanks of the meeting were voted to him for his valuable communication.

The papers will appear in the Journal.

5. From Mr. Cowell, a paper on the *Chárváka Dars'ana* or Materialistic Philosophy of the Hindus.

Mr. Cowell read his paper, and a vote of thanks was passed to him. The paper will be published in the Journal.

The Librarian submitted the usual monthly report.

The meeting was then made special, pursuant to notice, in order to decide upon the propositions of the Council relative to certain proposed changes in the Code of Bye Laws.

The Chairman read the report of the Council on the subject, recommending the adoption of the proposals by the Society.

The question having been put to the vote by the Chairman, the votes were found to be as follows:—

		Resident voters, for the amend- ment.	Non-Resident voters for amendment.	Resident voters, against.	Non-Resident voters, against.
Proposal, .....	I.	12	60	0	0
Ditto, .....	II.	"	"	"	"
Clause, .....	1.	12	59	0	1
Ditto, .....	2.	12	60	0	0
Proposal, .....	III.	12	57	0	1

The proposals were accordingly carried.

The following books and periodicals have been added to the Library since the meeting held in June last.

*Presented.*

Brockhaus' Berichte de Phil-Histoire classe der Konigl-Sachs—Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.—BY THE AUTHOR.

The Calcutta Christian Observer for June, 1862.—BY THE EDITORS.

The Journal of the Chemical Society of London, Vol. XV. Parts 1—4.—BY THE SOCIETY.

The Oriental Christian Spectator for March and April.—BY THE EDITORS.

Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London, Vol. VI. No. 2.—BY THE SOCIETY.

Address delivered at the Anniversary Meeting of the Geological Society of London, 21st February, 1862.—BY THE SOCIETY.

Papers on Mountain and other Local Attraction in India.—BY ARCH-DEACON J. H. PRATT.

The Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society of London, Vol. XVIII. Part 2.—BY THE SOCIETY.

Report of the British Indian Association for May.—BY THE ASSOCIATION.

Report of the Committee of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce from November 1861 to April 1862.—BY THE CHAMBER.

Schlagintweit's General Hypsometrical Tableau of India and High-Asia, part of Vol. II. of Results of a Scientific Mission to India and High-Asia.—BY MESSRS. DE SCHLAGINTWEIT.

Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, Vol. XXIV. Part 1.—BY THE ACADEMY.

Weber's Die Vedischen Nachrichten von den Naxatra, Part 2.—BY THE AUTHOR.

Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft, Bd. XVI. 1 and 2 Heft.—BY THE SOCIETY.

*Exchanged.*

The Athenæum for April 1862.

The Philosophical Magazine Vol. XXIII. No. 155.

*Purchased.*

Benfey's Orient und Occident, Erster Jahrgang. Viertes Heft.

Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Band II. No. 3.

Revue et Magasin de Zoologie, Nos. 3 and 4 of 1862.

Journal Des Savants for April, 1862.

Comptes Rendus Hemdomadaires des Seances De L'Academie des Sciences —Tome LIV. Nos. 13—16.

The Annals and Magazine of Natural History, Vol. IX. No. 53.

Revue des Deux Moudes, Tome XXXVIII. for 15th April and 1st May.

The Literary Gazette, Vol. VIII. Nos. 119 and 200.

The Parthenon, Vol. I. Nos. 1 and 2.

The Edinburgh Review, Nos. 233 and 234 for January and April.

The Quarterly Review, No. 222 for April.

Acharius' Lichenographia Universalis, 4to. Gottingae, 1810.

Acta Physico-Medica Academiæ Cæsareæ Naturæ Curiosorum, 10 Vols., 4to. Norimbergæ.

Nova Acta Physico-Medica Academiæ Cæsareæ Leopoldino—Carolinæ Naturæ Curiosorum, 8 Vols. 4to. Norimbergæ.

Algæ Maris Mediterranei et Adriatici, Auctore. Jacob G. Agardhl, Royal 8vo. Paris, 1842.

Systema Algarum, Adumbravit C. A. Agardh. 12mo., 1824.

Conspectus Fungorum in Lusatiæ Superioris Agro Niskiensi crescentium. Auctoribus J. B. de Albertini et L. D. de Schweiniz, 8vo. Lipsiæ, 1815.

Annales du Museum National D'Histoire Naturelle par Les Professeurs de eet Etablissement, 21 Vols. 4to. Paris, 1802—27.

Annals of Natural History or Magazine of Zoology, Botany and Geology. Conducted by Sir W. Jardine, Bart., P. J. Selby, Esq., Dr. Johnston, Sir W. J. Hooker and R. Taylor, F. L. S., 20 Vols. 8vo. London, 1838—47.

Petri Artedi Renovati, Bibliotheca et Philosophia Ichthyologica. 3 Vols, 8vo. Grypeswaldiæ, 1789—93.

Histoire Naturelle des Iles Canaries, par MM. P. Barker—Webb, Et Sabin Berthelot. Imperial 4to. Paris, 1836—44.

Medizinische Zoologie, von J. F. Brandt und J. T. C. Ratzeburg, 2 Vols. in one, 4to. Berlin, 1829.

Ornithologia sine Synopsis Methodica, Par M. A. D. Brisson, 6 Vols. 4to. Paris, 1760.

Catalogue of the Hunterian Collection in the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons in London, 6 Vols. 4to. London, 1830—45.

Histoire Naturelle Générale et Particulière des Céphalopodes Acétabulifères vivantes et Fossiles—Par Alcide D'Orbigny, 4to. Paris, 1835—48.

Journal of a Residence in Ashantee.—By Joseph Dupuis, Esq., 4to. London, 1824.

Encyclopédie Méthodique—Histoire Naturelle des Animaux, 10 Vols. 4to. Paris, 1782—1825.

Histoire Naturelle des Mollusques, Par M. Le Baron De Férussac, 4to. Paris, 1828. [1829-30.

Synopsis Mammalium, Auctore Joanne Baptista Fischer, 8vo. Stuttgart, Flora Ægyptiaco-Arabica, Par Petrus Forskal, 4to. Hauniæ, 1775.

Voyage Autour du Monde, Entrepris par ordre du Roi, Par M. Louis De Freycinet, with a folio Atlas of Plates, 4to. Paris, 1824.

Voyage en Islande et au Groenland, pendant les Années 1835-36.

Zoologie et Médecine—Par M. Eugène Robert, with a folio Atlas of Plates, 8vo. Paris, 1851.

Voyage De Humboldt et Bonpland—Recueil D'Observations de Zoologie et D'Anatomie, Comparée, Par Al. De Humboldt et A. Bonpland, 2 Vols. Imperial 4to. Paris, 1811—33.

Prodromas Systematis Mammalium et Avium.—Par Caroli Illeger, 8vo. Berolini, 1811.

A History of British Sponges and Lithophytes.—By George Johnston, M. D., 8vo. Edinburgh, 1842.

Specimen Medicum exhibens Synopsin Reptilium.—Par Joseph Nicolai Laurenti, 8vo. Viennæ, 1768.

Manuel D'Ornithologie, ou Description des Genres et des principales Espèces D'Oiseaux.—Par R. P. Lesson, 2 Vols., 12mo. Paris, 1828.

Expédition Scientifique De Moree—Section des Sciences Physiques, 3 Vols., (the third volume having two separate parts) and a folio Atlas of Plates, 4to. Paris, 1836.

Description De L'E'gypte, ou Recueil des Observations et des Recherches qui ont été faites en E'gypte pendant L'Expédition de L'Armée Française, publié par les ordres de Sa Majesté L'Empereur Napoléon Le Grand, 9 Vols. folio of Letterpress and 12 Royal folio Vols., Paris, 1809—20.

## FOR AUGUST, 1862.

The Monthly General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal was held on the 6th Instant.

A. Grote, Esq., President, in the chair.

Presentations were received—

1. From T. S. Shaw, Esq., Mynpoorie, through Mr. E. C. Bayley a Sassanian silver coin.

2. From Dr. F. E. Hall, a copy of his work entitled “A Rational Refutation of the Hindu Philosophical Systems,” translated from the Hindi of Pundit Nehemiah Nil Kanth Sastri Gore.

Read letters—

1. From the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, forwarding official correspondence on certain beds of coal discovered by Major Sherwill in the Govindpore subdivision of the Maunbhoom district.

The papers shew that this coal is of inferior quality. It has been analysed by Mr. Tween of the Geological Survey, who considers it “for all purposes, except perhaps lime-burning, nearly, if not altogether, worthless.”

2. From the Commissioner of Mysore, forwarding several copies of a table shewing the elevations of certain localities, and the height of certain mountains in the Mysore territories.

3. From the Hon’ble F. W. A. Bruce, Her Majesty’s Minister at Peking, the following letter addressed to the President, in reply to a communication from him on the subject of the Thibetan expedition:—

*Peking, 4th May, 1862.*

DEAR SIR,—I have received your letter on communication with Thibet.

I had previously addressed myself to the lamas who are at present in Peking as envoys from Lhassa, a journey it has taken them three years to effect. But they appear miserably and profoundly ignorant, so much so that not an atom of information could be obtained from them. The difficulty of holding intercourse with them is increased by the necessity of employing the official interpreter attached to them by the Chinese Government.

As soon as certain questions are disposed of which at present absorb all the time the Prince of Hung can give me, I shall enter on the subject with him, and inform the Government of India of the



result. I rather anticipate that the Chinese will decline giving passports to Thibet, on the ground that they do not interfere in the internal administration of the country. Whether I shall be able to induce them to use their influence to favour our views, I cannot state. They are much alarmed at the idea of foreign nations having intercourse with these semi-barbarous races, who lie as a barrier between China and the European Powers. Of this, I have seen some striking proofs lately with reference to the Mongolian tribes.

In the meantime, I beg you to believe that I understand the importance of the subject proposed, and shall be most happy to assist in carrying it out. But as I know that the traditions of China will incline her statesmen to throw obstacles in the way, the subject must be approached with caution, and under favourable circumstances.

The most enlightened Chinese have not got beyond the notion, that it is a less evil to tolerate the presence of foreigners where they have a right to be, than to risk a war for the purpose of keeping them out. But I doubt whether there is one amongst them who does not think their presence an evil.

I remain, &c.,

(Sd.) F. W. A. BRUCE.

The nomination of Col. R. Strachey to be a Vice-President, and of Mr. J. G. Medlicott a member of the Council, *vice* Mr. Oldham, was confirmed.

The following gentlemen, duly proposed at the last meeting, were balloted for and elected ordinary members :

H. Beverley, Esq., C. S.; Captain J. P. Basevi; J. W. S. Wyllie, Esq.; W. L. Heeley, Esq., C. S., and Colonel Vincent Eyre, C. B.

The following gentlemen were named for ballot at the next meeting :—

F. R. Mallet, Esq., proposed by Mr. J. G. Medlicott, seconded by Mr. Atkinson.

R. L. Martin, Esq., inspector of schools, proposed by Mr. Atkinson, seconded by Mr. Leonard.

Communications were received—

1. From Major Walker, an extract of a report from the Civil Assistant in charge of the Assam Longitudinal Series G. T. Survey, to the Superintendent of the G. T. Survey.

2. From the President, extracts from reports by Mr. J. H.

O'Donel, the Arrakan surveyor, and by Mr. H. J. Reynolds, the Superintendent of survey on the Eastern frontier of Sylhet, containing interesting information regarding some little known tribes inhabiting in those regions.

These papers and the preceding one were read by Colonel Thuillier, who added some interesting remarks on the present state of our geographical knowledge of the districts on the Eastern frontier of Bengal.

The papers will appear in the Journal.

3. From Dr. J. L. Stewart, a memorandum on the Peshawur Valley, chiefly regarding its Flora.

4. From Dr. T. Anderson, a paper on the Flora of Behar, and the mountain Parasnath, with a list of the species collected by Messrs. Hooker, Edgeworth, Thomson and Anderson.

5. From E. Blyth, Esq., a further note on Wild Asses and alleged Wild Horses.

6. From Captain J. G. Forlong, a report with plans and drawings on the Isthmus of Krau, prepared by Captain Fraser and himself.

7. From Rev. I. Loewenthal, a paper on the antiquities of the Peshawur district.

Mr. Bayley after reading the paper, illustrated it by remarks with reference to similar discoveries at "Jamal Giri" described in Vol. XXI. of the *Journal* for 1852, and added some observations on the extract from Major Burrough's letter given by Mr. Loewenthal.

The papers will appear in the Journal.

8. From Baboo Gopinath Sen, abstracts of Meteorological Observations taken at the Surveyor General's Office, in May and June last.

The Librarian submitted the usual monthly report.

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The following additions were made to the Library since the meeting in July.

*Presented.*

The Annals of Indian Administration, Part 2 of Vol. VI. for June, 1862.

—BY THE BENGAL GOVERNMENT.

The Calcutta Christian Observer for July and August.—BY THE EDITORS.

Clifford's Memorandum of Timber of Bengal.—BY THE EDITOR.

Rational Refutation of Hindu Philosophy.—BY PUNDIT NEHEMIAH NIL KANTH AND TRANSLATED BY MR F. E. HALL.

Journal of the Statistical Society of London for June, 1862.—BY THE SOCIETY.

A Letter on the subject of the Translation of Scriptures into English from Tamil language.—BY THE

A Legend of Khoolneah, pamphlet by Mr. H. J. Rainey.—BY THE AUTHOR.

Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India, Vol. IV. Part 1.—BY THE BENGAL GOVERNMENT.

Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India, Palæontologia Indica, Vol. II. Part 2, 2 copies.—BY THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA AND THE BENGAL GOVERNMENT.

The Oriental Baptist for June.—BY THE EDITOR.

The Oriental Christian Spectator for May.—BY THE EDITORS.

The Proceedings of the Royal Society of London, Vol. XII. No. 49.—BY THE SOCIETY.

Report on the Survey Operations of the Lower Provinces for 1861.—BY THE BENGAL GOVERNMENT.

Selections from the Records of the Govt. North-West Provinces, No. 36.—BY THE GOVERNMENT NORTH-WEST PROVINCES.

Selections from the Records of the Government of Punjab and its Dependencies, Vol. VI.—BY THE PUNJAB GOVERNMENT.

Statement of the Weekly Meteorological Returns of the North-West Provinces from June 1860, to May 1861.—BY THE GOVERNMENT NORTH-WEST PROVINCES.

Etudes Quelques Orthopteres des Musee de Geneve. By Henri de Saussure.—BY THE AUTHOR.

*Exchanged.*

The Athenæum for May.

The Philosophical Magazine, Nos. 156 and 157.

*Purchased.*

The observation of Sir Richard Hawkins, Kt., in his voyage into the South Sea in 1593—Edited by Captain C. R. Drinkwater Bethune, R. N., C. B.

Select letters of Columbus with original documents relating to the discovery of the New World—Translated and edited by R. H. Major, Esq., of the British Museum.

The discovery of the Empire of Guiana, by Sir Walter Raleigh, Kt., edited with copious explanatory Notes and a Biographical Memoir by Sir Robert H. Schomburgk, Phil. D., etc.

Sir Francis Drake his voyage 1595, by Thomas Maynarde, together with the Spanish account of Drake's attack on Puerto Rico, edited from the original MSS. by W. D. Cooley, Esq.

Narratives of early voyages undertaken for the discovery of a passage to Cathaia and India, by the North West, with selections from the Records of

the worshipful fellowship of the merchants of London, trading into the East Indies; and from MSS. in the Library of the British Museum, published by Thomas Rundall, Esq.

The *Historie of Travaile into Virginia Britannia* expressing the *Cosmographiæ* and *Commodities* of the country, together with the manners and customs of the people gathered and observed as well by those who went first thither as collected by William Strachey, Gent: the first Secretary of the Colony. Edited by R. H. Major, Esq., of the British Museum.

*Divers voyages touching the discovery of America and the Islands adjacent*, collected and published by Richard Hakluyt, Prebendary of Bristol, in the year 1582. Edited with Notes and Introduction by Johu Winter Jones, Esq.

A collection of documents on Japan with a commentary by Thomas Rundall, Esq.

The discovery and conquest of Florida by Don Ferdinando de Soto. Translated out of Portuguese by Richard Hakluyt, and edited with Notes and an Introduction, by W. B. Rye, Esq.

Notes upon Russia, being a translation from the earliest account of that country, entitled *Rerum Moscoviticarum commentarii*, by the Baron Sigismund Von Herberstein, ambassador from the Court of Germany to the Grand Prince Vasiley Iranovich in the years 1517 and 1526, two Volumes. Translated and edited with Notes and an Introduction by R. H. Major, Esq. Vols. I. and II.

The Geography of Hudson's Bay, being the remarks of Captain W. Coats, in many voyages to that locality, between the years 1727 and 1751, with an appendix containing extracts from the log of Captain Middleton, on his voyage for the discovery of the northwest passage in H. M.'s "Furnace," in 1741-42. Edited by John Barrow, Esq., F. R. S., F. S. A.

Three voyages by the North-East towards Cathay and China undertaken by the Dutch in the years 1594, 1595 and 1596, with their discovery of Spitzbergen, their residence of ten months in Novaya Zemlya, and their safe return in two open boats, by Gerrit de Veer. Edited by C. T. Beke, Esq., PH. D., F. S. A.

The history of the great and mighty kingdom of China and the situation thereof, compiled by the Padre Juau Gonzalez de Mendoza, and now reprinted from the early translation of R. Parke. Edited by Sir George T. Staunton, Bart., with an Introduction by R. H. Major, Esq., 2 Vols.

The world encompassed by Sir Francis Drake, being his next voyage to that to *Nombre de dios*, collected with an unpublished MS. of Francis Fletcher, Chaplain to the expedition. With appendices illustrative of the same voyage, and Introduction by W. S. W. Vaux, Esq., M. A.

The history of the Tartar conquerors who subdued China, from the French of the Père D'Orleans, 1688. Translated and edited by the Earl of Ellesmere with an Introduction by R. H. Major, Esq.

A collection of early documents on Spitzbergen and Greenland, consisting of a translation from the German of F. Marten's important work on Spitzbergen, now very rare; a translation from Isaac de la Peyrère's relation de Groenland, and a rare piece entitled God's Power and Providence showed in the miraculous preservation and deliverance of eight Englishmen, left by mischance in Greenland, Anno 1630, nine months and twelve days, faithfully reported by Edward Pelham. Edited with notes, by Adam White, Esq.

The voyage of Sir Henry Middleton to Bantam and the Maluco Islands. From the rare edition of 1606, edited by Bolton Corney, Esq.

Russia at the close of the sixteenth century comprising "The Russe Commonwealth" by Dr. Giles Fletcher and Sir Jerome Horsey's travels, now first printed entire from his MS. in the British Museum. Edited by E. A. Bond, Esq.

The travels of Girolamo Benzoni, in America in 1542—56. Translated and edited by Admiral W. H. Smyth, F. R. S., F. S. A.

India in the fifteenth century, being a collection of narratives of voyages to India in the century preceeding the Portuguese discovery of the Cape of Good Hope; from Latin, Persian, Russian and Italian sources now first translated into English, edited with an Introduction by R. H. Major, Esq., F. S. A.

Narrative of a voyage to the West Indies and Mexico, in the years 1599—1602, with maps and illustrations, by S. Champlain. Translated from the original and unpublished MS. with a Biographical notice and notes by Alice Wilmere. Edited by Norton Shaw.

Expeditions into the valley of the Amazons during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; containing the journey of Gonzalo Pizarro, from the Royal commentaries of Garcilasso Inca de la Vega; the voyage of Francisco de Orellana, from the General History of Herrera; and the voyage of Cristoval de Acuna, from an exceedingly scarce narrative written by himself in 1641. Edited and translated by Clements R. Markham, Esq.

Early indications of Australia; a collection of documents shewing the early discoveries of Australia to the time of Captain Cook. Edited by R. H. Major, Esq., F. S. A.

The embassy of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo to the Court of Timour, 1403—6. Translated, with notes, a preface and an Introductory life of Timour Beg, by Clements R. Markham, Esq., F. R. G. S.

Henry Hudson the Navigator. The original documents in which his career is recorded, collected, partly translated and annotated with an introduction, by George Asher, Esq., LL. D.



The expedition of Ursua and Aguirre, in search of El Dorado and Omagua, A. D. 1560-61, translated from the "Sexta Noticia historial" of Fray Pedro Simon, by W. Bollaert, Esq., with an Introduction by C. R. Markham, Esq., 1861.

The Annals and Magazine of Natural History for June.

The American Journal of Sciences and Arts for May.

Bleeker's Atlas Ichthyologique des Indes Orientales Neerlandisch, parts 1 and 2.

Deutsches Worterbuch Vol. III. part 7.

Enault's Histoire de la litterature des Hindous.

The Parthenon, Vol. I. Nos. 3 to 7.

The American Journal of Sciences and Arts, Vol. XXXIII. No. 99.

Revue des Deux Mondes for 15th May and 1st June.

Reeve's Conchologia Iconica, parts 218, 219.

Vendidad Sadi, part 8.

Wilson's works, edited by Rost, Vol. I.

Comptes Rendus, Vol. LIV. Nos. 17 to 19.

Journal des Savants for May, with an Index of the Vol. for 1861.

LALGOPAL DUTT.

6th August, 1862.

### FOR SEPTEMBER, 1862.

The Monthly General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal was held on the 3rd instant.

A. Grote, Esq., President, in the chair.

Presentations were received—

1. From the Hon'ble G. F. Edmonstone, several statues and inscribed bases of columns of red sandstone from the remains of a monastery lately discovered in one of the ancient mounds outside the city of Muttra. One of these inscriptions records the name of Huvishka, who has been identified with the Indo-Scythian King Hushka.

On the proposal of the President, the thanks of the Society were voted to Seth Luchmee Chand, and to Mr. Palmer, the East India Railway Agent, for having kindly undertaken to bring them down to Howrah on account of the Society.

2. From Mr. E. B. Cowell, a copy of the Uttara Rama Charita, edited by Pundit Premchand Tarkabágisa.

3. From Babu Rungolal Banerjea, through Babu Rajendralal Mitra, a copy of a poetical work entitled Karma Devi.

4. From Mr. D. H. Macfarlane, a silver coin of Shere Shah found near a temple in the Tirhoot district. The inscription is in Arabic and Devanagari letters, dated A. H. 951.

The President exhibited two silver coins found in lot 211 belonging to Babu Siva Chandra Mullick in the Sunderbuns, forwarded for that purpose by the Commissioner, Sunderbuns, who writes, "I visited the lot in February last, and was agreeably surprised to observe several extensive tanks and heaps of bricks and mounds of earth, also the remains of a road, thereby clearly indicating that the place was once inhabited by men in opulent circumstances."

The coins were those of Ghyasooden Bulbun, dated 673 A. H. apparently struck in Bengal, and of Nasiroodeen Mahamood. The President expressed a hope that he would be able to exhibit the whole trove consisting of 38 coins.

A circular vessel said to be of Jade enclosing a crystal duck and gold leaf inscription, received from Mr. C. Westropp, of Rawal Pindee, was also exhibited (*vide supra*, p. 167).

The nomination of Babu Ramá Nauth Tagore to be a member of the Council, *vice* late Babu Ramapersaud Roy was confirmed.

The following gentlemen duly proposed at the last meeting were balloted for and elected ordinary members.

F. R. Mallet, Esq.

R. L. Martin, Esq.

The following gentlemen were named for ballot at the next meeting:

Raja Apurva Krishna, proposed by the President, seconded by Babu Rajendralal Mitra.

Babu Pulin Behary Sen, proposed by Babu Gourdooss Bysack, seconded by Babu Rajendralal Mitra.

The Hon'ble H. B. Harington, proposed by Capt. W. N. Lees, seconded by the President.

J. T. Wheeler, Esq., proposed by Mr. E. C. Bayley, seconded by the President.

C. C. Stevens, Esq., C. S., R. H. Wilson, Esq., C. S., and Valentine Irwin, Esq., C. S., were proposed by Capt. W. N. Lees, and seconded by Mr. Cowell.

C. S. Hogg, Esq., proposed by Colonel Thuillier, seconded by Mr. Wyllie.

C. Bernard, Esq., C. S., proposed by Captain Hyde, seconded by Colonel Thuillier.

Communications were received—

1. From Colonel A. P. Phayre, a note on a Burmese inscription from Pagan.

2. From the same, a note on some Tenasserim medals and coins.

3. From Babu Rajendralal Mitra, a paper on the Bhoja Raja of Dhára and his Homonyms.

4. From Babu Gopi Nauth Sen, Abstracts of the Meteorological Observations taken at the Surveyor General's office in July last.

E. C. Bayley, Esq. read Colonel Phayre's paper, on the Pagan inscription, and Babu Rajendralal Mitra read his own paper on the Bhoja Raja.

The thanks of the meeting were voted for each communication. Both will appear in the Journal.

The Librarian submitted the usual monthly report.

The following are the accessions to the Library since the meeting held in August.

*Presented.*

Annual Report of the Grant Medical College of Bombay for 1861-62.—BY THE PRINCIPAL OF THE COLLEGE.

The Calcutta Christian Observer for September.—BY THE EDITORS.

Catalogue of Economic products of the Bombay Presidency.—BY THE BENGAL GOVERNMENT.

Catalogue Codicum Orientalium.—BY THE LUGDUNI BATAVORUM ACADEMY.

Indian Annals of Medical Science, No. XIV.—BY THE EDITOR.

The Infant Treatment, 2nd Part.—BY THE AUTHOR.

Journal Asiatique, Vol. XIX. No. 74.—BY THE PARIS SOCIETY.

Journal of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, Vol. V. Part 1.—BY THE ACADEMY.

Journal Royal Asiatic Society of London, Vol. XIX. Part 4.—BY THE SOCIETY.

Jahrbuch, Vol. XII. No. 1.—BY THE VIENNA ACADEMY.

Journal of Sacred Literature and Biblical Record, No. 2, New Series.—BY THE EDITORS.

Karma Devi or the Rajput Wife.—BY THE AUTHOR.

The Madras Journal of Literature and Science, Vol. VI. No. 12.—BY THE MADRAS SOCIETY.

Natuurkundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indie, Deel. XXIV.—BY THE BATAVIAN SOCIETY.

The New Civil Guide, Part 2.—BY BABU KISSORY CHAND MITRA.

The Oriental Baptist for July.—BY THE EDITOR.

The Oriental Christian Spectator for June.—BY THE EDITOR.

The Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, pp. 145—556.—BY THE ACADEMY.

Schriften der Koniglichen Academy der Wissenschaften, Vol. II. Parts 1 and 2.—BY THE VIENNA ACADEMY.

Uttara Rāma Charita, Edited by Pandita Prem Chandra Tarkabāgisa.—BY E. B. COWELL, ESQ.

Bhaminee Bilāsa, Part 2.—BY THE SAME.

*Exchanged.*

The Athenæum for June.

The Philosophical Magazine, No. 158.

*Purchased.*

The Annals and Magazine of Natural History for July.

Bohtlingk and Roth's Sanskrit Worterbuch, Bogen 1—10.

Bleeker's Atlas Ichthyologique des Indes Orientales Neerlandisch, Part 3.

Goeje's Memoires de Histoire et de Geographie Orientales, No. 1.

Hewitson's Exotic Butterflies, Parts 19 to 43.

The Natural History Review for July.

The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Numismatic Society of London, New Series, No. 6.

The Parthenon, Vol. I. Nos. 8 to 11.

Revue des Deux Mondes for 15th June.

Revue et Magasin de Zoologie, No. 5 of 1862.

Reeve's Conchologia Iconica, Parts 220 and 221.

The Westminster Review for July.

Westergaard's Indischen Geschichte.

Comptes Rendus, Vol. LIV. Nos. 20 to 25.

Journal des Savants for June.

LALGOPAL DUTT.

3rd September, 1862.

## FOR OCTOBER, 1862.

The Monthly General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal was held on the 8th instant.

E. C. Bayley Esq., in the chair.

The proceedings of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Presentations were received—

1. From the Count D'Escayrac De Lauture, a copy of his work on the telegraphic transmission of the Chinese characters.

2. From the Secretary, Batavian Academy, several numbers of the *Verhandlingen* and *Tijdschrift* of the Academy.

3. From Lieut.-Col. R. C. Tytler, numerous skulls of the small wild pig of the Andaman Islands ; also of the edible and Hawk's-bill Turtles, the lower jaw of an adult Dugong, and some bones of fishes.

A letter from Rev. F. F. Mazuchelli, intimating his desire to withdraw from the Society, was recorded.

The following gentlemen, duly proposed at the last meeting, were balloted for and elected ordinary members :—

Raja Apurva Krishna Bahadoor.

Babu Poolin Behary Sein.

The Hon'ble H. B. Harington.

J. T. Wheeler, Esq., C. S.

C. C. Stevens, Esq., C. S.

R. H. Wilson, Esq., C. S.

Valentine Irwin, Esq.

C. S. Hogg, Esq., and

C. Bernard, Esq.

The Council recommended that the following report of the Philological Committee should be adopted.

The Philological Committee recommended that the *Tabakát-i-Násarí* of Abu Umar al Juzjani, should be published in the Persian series of the *Bibliotheca Indica*.

We have already published its continuation by *Zia-i-Barni* and the two works together will form a most valuable contribution to Indian history. Mr. Morley in his catalogue says, that the *Tabakát-i-Násarí* is exceedingly valuable in reference to the intricate history of the Ghúrides and of the Slave Kings of India and of their Viceroyes and Governors ; so far as it extends, it is the best authority for the



events of that interesting period. Captain Lees has undertaken to edit the work; it will occupy about seven Fasciculi.

The report was adopted.

Communications were received—

1. From Major J. T. Walker, extracts from a report from the Superintendent, Great Trigonometrical Survey, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department.

2. From Babu Rajendralal Mitra, a paper on two ancient Sanscrit Inscriptions from Central India.

3. From Herr E. Schlagintweit, a paper entitled "Translation and Tibetan text of a Tibetan address to the Buddhas of confession."

4. A letter from Colonel Cunningham on the Buddhist discoveries at Sultanganj.

Mr. Bayley read the above. It was as follows:—

*Nynee Tal, 7th Sept. 1862.*

TO THE SECRETARY, ASIATIC SOCIETY.

DEAR SIR,—In reply to your letter regarding Mr. Harris's discovery of some Buddhist remains near Sultanganj, I beg to say that there seems to me every probability that the complete excavation of the ruined buildings would well repay the cost of the work. I have received from Mr. Harris a plan of the ruins, as far as they have been excavated, and I am able to state decidedly that they are the remains of an ancient *Vihār*, or Buddhist chapel-monastery. The *Vihār* always included a temple or shrine, containing a figure of Buddha; and in the present case the enshrined figure has already been discovered. Around the shrine were the cells of the resident monks, who conducted pilgrims to all the holy spots, and retailed the legends connected with them. Six cells have already been uncovered by Mr. Harris. These six cells cannot form more than one-sixth or perhaps only one-eighth of the whole number. The cells are always disposed on the four sides of a square; and I would therefore recommend that the first operation should be to dig a narrow trench along the course of the inner wall, in order to determine at once the shape and extent of the mass of buildings.

In Mr. Fergusson's *Hand Book of Architecture* you will find several plans of *Vihār* caves, excavated in the solid rock. In all these examples, the cells necessarily occupy only three sides of the square, the fourth side being required for the admission of light.

My reason for believing that the continuance of the excavations will well repay the cost of the work, is chiefly founded on the discovery of the colossal copper image of Buddha; and on the unmutilated state of the other images and inscriptions. From these discoveries, I conclude that the resident monks had only just time to bury the colossal copper statue of Buddha, before making their escape from the *Vihár*, and consequently that numerous objects of interest must have been abandoned by them. Mr. Harris does not mention whether there are any traces of fire; but I infer from the perfect state of the copper statue, that fire was not the means of destruction of the Sultanganj *Vihár*. At Sarnath, Benares, all the metal objects discovered by Major Kittoe and myself had been wholly or partially fused, and the grain found in the cells was all charred.

I am indebted to the courtesy of Mr. Harris for a copy of one of the inscriptions discovered by him on the back of a small stone figure. The inscription itself is of no value, it being only the usual Buddhist formula, beginning with *Ye Dhamma hetu prabhava*, &c., but it is otherwise of value, as the forms of the letters show that the figure is of early date, most probably of the second or third century.

I have delayed answering your letter in the hope of being able to find some mention of this *Vihár* either in *Fa Hian* or in *Hwen Thsang*; but I have been disappointed. The latter pilgrim describes *Champa*, (the modern Bhagulpore) and it is probable that the Sultanganj *Vihár* is one of the "several dozens of monasteries" which were then mostly in ruins. This is rendered still more probable by the early date of the inscription noticed above.

If I am right in my conjecture that the Sultanganj *Vihár* is one of the many that were in ruins in the seventh century when visited by *Hwen Thsang*, it will only be the greater inducement to continue the excavations, as the objects which may be brought to light will belong to an early period of Buddhism, probably anterior to the introduction of the five *Dhyán* Buddhas and Bhodi Satwas, who were the principal objects of reverence at the time of *Hwen Thsang's* pilgrimage.

The characters of the inscriptions sent to me by Mr. Harris are of the same age as those of the Gupta dynasty. The principal determinative letters are the Y and the *sr*, which in the inscriptions of later date, say of the 7th and 8th centuries, have changed to

another form. A reference to Mr. Bayley regarding the probable age of the inscriptions in which the earlier forms of these letters are found, will at once satisfy you that I am right in assigning the occupation of the Sultanganj *Vihār* to an early date.

I am, &c.,

(Sd.) A. CUNNINGHAM.

5. A letter from Babu Guru Churn Doss, containing an account of an old mosque situated in Pergunnah Habibe, with specimens of bricks of the mosque forwarded through Babu Gour Doss Bysack.

The Secretary read the above. The letter is subjoined :—

TO THE SECRETARY OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY, CALCUTTA.

*Berhampore, 22nd September, 1862.*

SIR,—During one of my official tours in the district of Jessore, I visited a very old and curious mosque about two miles to the east of a small bazar called Bunghat, in Pergunnah Habibe, and although not surrounded with very great interest, yet the fact of its having been built in the time of the great Akber in such an out-of-the-way place is not quite unworthy of notice.

The mosque is said to have been built by one Khwajah Ally Khan, who came down from Delhi and took up his residence, it is impossible to say for what length of time, in that part of Jessore, where it now stands. Besides this mosque, there are other buildings about a mile's distance from it, but they are all either overgrown with jungles, or are in too great ruins to admit of my determining their exact nature and form ; one of which, however, I was told, goes under the name of *Satgoombuz*, meaning sixty pyramidal roofs, which was the palace of Khwajah Ally Khan. In the neighbourhood of this there are several other buildings apparently in ruins, but the general aspect of which leads one to imagine that this locality was once, no doubt, a scene of magnificence. Traces of broad and strongly metalled roads are yet to be seen in almost every direction of the mosque from the *Satgoombuz*, thereby affording grounds for believing that the Sunderbuns shroud the ruins of once populous and flourishing towns.

Although the mosque and two other small buildings in its close vicinity were not very seriously damaged when I visited them, they were much out of condition. The entrance door of the mosque is towards the west. The material consisted of small but very strong bricks nicely cut and beautifully put together with mortar. The

structure in fact is very solid, and the floor is inlaid with beautifully small square and hexagonal bricks, the surface of which, however, is variegated and enamelled.

In the interior, save and except a tomb of ordinary elevation on rather an oblong base, a very large slab of white marble on which some couplets of the Koran are engraved in gilded characters, and placed upon an artificial raising, and the wood-work of the door, there is nothing else to attract notice.

In the front of the mosque there is a large tank, equal if not larger in size than that in the *Dilkush Baug* of the Rajah of Burdwan, and containing not a small number of alligators of different size. The whole of the space attached to the buildings and surrounding the tank is enclosed by walls of ordinary height.

I have found some difficulty in obtaining any authentic account of Khwajah Ally's mission to Bengal, nor could I discover why he was induced to fix his residence at a locality beset by so many disadvantages.

The bricks which I had taken out from the mosque have been handed over to Babu Gour Doss Bysack, for presentation to your Society.

I remain, &c.,

(Sd.) GURU CHURN DOSS.

The Librarian submitted the usual monthly report.

The following books and periodicals were added to the Library since the September meeting.

*Presented.*

Annual Report on the Administration of the Bengal Presidency.—BY THE BENGAL GOVERNMENT.

A Work on Telegraphic Transmission of the Chinese characters. By the Count D'Escayrac de Lauture.—BY THE AUTHOR.

Memorandum on the Panchouttee or Indian Gutta of the Western Coast.—BY LIEUT.-COL. C. DOUGLAS.

Report on the Hyderabad Assigned Districts for 1861-62.—BY THE BENGAL GOVERNMENT.

Report on the Administration of Port Blair for 1861-62.—BY THE SAME.

Sakuntala, edited by Pandita Prem Chandra Tarkabágisa.—BY E. B. COWELL, Esq.

Selections from Records of the Madras Government for 1860.—BY THE MADRAS GOVERNMENT.

Transactions of the Government of India, Military Department for 1861-62.—BY THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

Zijdschrift voor Indische Zaal-land en Volken kunde, Vols. VII. VIII. IX. and X.—BY THE BATAVIAN ACADEMY.

Verhandlingen van het Bataviasch Gentooschap, Vols. XXVII. and XXVIII.—BY THE BATAVIAN ACADEMY.

*Purchased.*

Kádamvari.

Masnavi Khizar Khan wa dawal Rani.

Molla Nany.

Nizami's Sekander Nameh.

LALGOPAL DUTT.





T H I B E T

SKETCH MAP

Shewing the **Glaciers** at the Source of the**RATONG RIVER**

to illustrate the Notes upon a trip undertaken by

**Major James Lind Sherwill, Rev. Surveyor.**

to explore the Snowy regions of the

**GREAT KUNCHINJINGA GROUP**

in the








**Himalayah Mountains.****1861.**

Scale 4 British Miles 1 Inch

**NOTE.**

This map is taken from Doctor J. D. Hooker's map of Sikkim, with corrections and additions by Captain Walter S. Sherwill and Major James L. Sherwill.

**REFERENCES.**

- Glaciers with containing Morains 
- Goompas, or Llama Monasteries 
- Halting places 
- Water falls 
- Heights ascertained  
by G. T. S. of Imha 
- British Boundary 
- Major James Sherwill's route 



*J. L. Sherwill Major  
Rev. Surveyor*

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